

SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY



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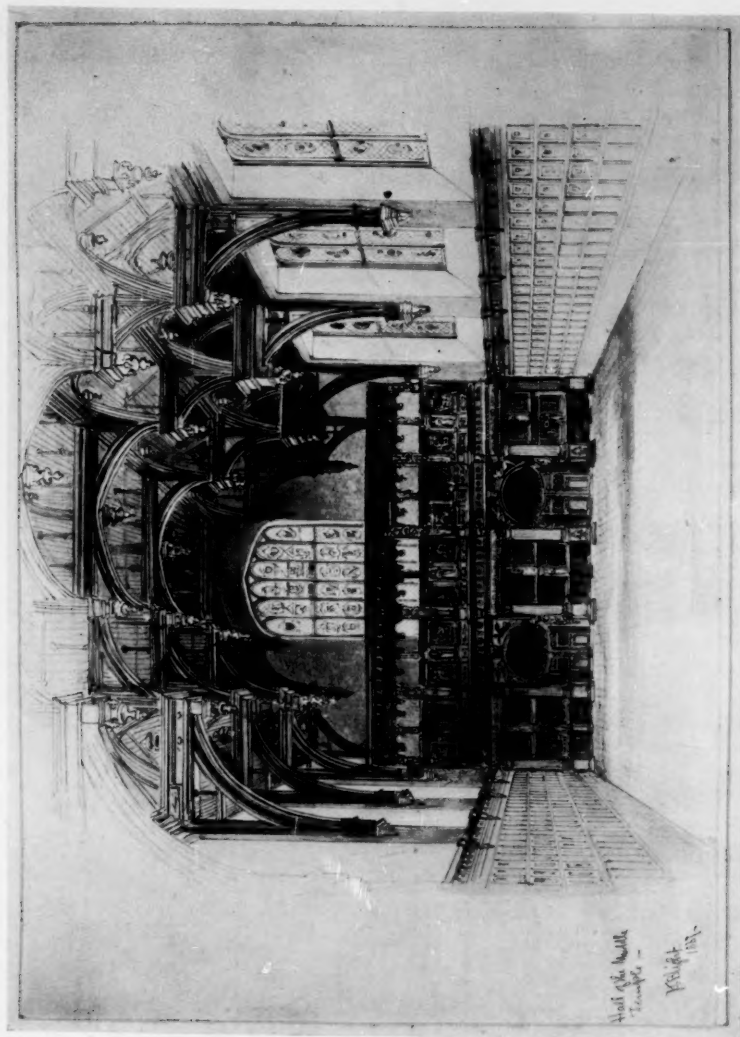
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Hall of the Middle Temple, where *Twelfth Night* was performed on 2 February 1662. Reproduced from a sketch in pencil and water color by J. T. Blight (1867) in the Folger Shakespeare Library. See p. 256.

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The Background of *Coriolanus*

KENNETH MUIR

IN 1604 a volume was published entitled *Four Paradoxes, or politique Discourses*,¹ containing two essays by Thomas Digges concerning military discipline, "written long since", and two essays by his son, Dudley Digges, "of the worthiness of warre and Warriours". The "paradoxes" of the father call for no particular comment. They are well-reasoned and sensible, and their line of argument can be deduced from the titles:

That no Prince, or State doth gaine, or saue by giuing too small entertainment vnto souldiers, officers, or Commaunders Martiall: but doe thereby extreamly loose, and vnprofitably waste their Treasure, besides the dishonour and foiles [soils ?], that necessarily thereof ensue.

That the Antique Romane and Græcian discipline Martiall doth farre exceede in Excellency our Modern, notwithstanding all alterations by reason of that late inuention of Artillerie, or fire-shott. And that (vnlesse wee reforme such corruptions as are growne into our Moderne Militia, vtterly repugnant to the Ancient) wee shall in time loose vtterly the renowne and honour of our Nation, as all other also that haue or shall commit or tollerate like errors.

From the literary standpoint, the two paradoxes by Dudley Digges are of greater interest. The first of these is designed to show

That the sometimes neglected souldiers profession deserues much commendation, and best becomes a Gentleman, that desires to liue vertuously, or die Honorable.

In view of the fact that Dudley Digges was the stepson of Shakespeare's overseer, Russell,² and that his brother Leonard, the translator of Claudian,³ contributed verses to the First Folio in praise of Shakespeare, it is interesting to observe Dudley's patronizing references to poetry:

I will neither deny, nor commend, my loue to *Poetry*, some little idle time spent in it for my priuate recreation I repent not, it hath good vse, and is a good exercise for busie yonge heads. (P. 74)

He goes on to lament that Sidney had not

left the patronage of *Poetrie* to some more priuate spirit, and saued me a labor by bestowing his much better witte on some requisite Apolcgie for souldiers.

¹ S.T.C. 6872.

² Cf. Leslie Hotson, *I, William Shakespeare* (1938), *passim*.

³ Reprinted Liverpool University Press, 1959.

Later on he writes of Christian soldiers who, besides chaplains,

haue the Scriptures, where (contemning play bookes and base pamphlets vnfit studies for dying men) they may reading learne to imitate *Iosua* before the battell. (P. 84)

He attacks "the lamentable folly of our besotted Gentry" who pride themselves on their clothes, or on their skill in music and fencing; and of those who spend all their time in hunting he asks:

Is there more Musicke in a stinking curre howling qualitie than in a Drumme or Trumpet? (P. 79)

After giving many examples of the honor in which soldiering has been held, he concludes by saying:

The time will come their countrie will leaue fawningly to offer vp hir wealth to those her vnworthy children that liue by sucking drie their Parents blood, and rather motherlike respect those sonnes that are hir Champions, and seeke to perchase her ease with painefull industrie, her honor with effusion of their bloude, her safety with losse of life.

In his other paradox, or essay, Dudley Digges argues

That warre sometimes [is] lesse hurtfull, and more to be wisht in a well gouerned State than peace. (P. 96)

War is better than "luxurious idleness". Although Elizabeth had a peaceful reign, she took good care that her realm "was still tollerably furnished with skilfull souldiers" (p. 100). Peace is apt to lead to⁴

dissemination, when idlenesse ministers each actiue humour fit occasion of working, to the indangering of most healthfull bodies, when quite [quiet?] security giues busie heads leasure to deuide the common-wealth into contentious factions.

Digges then discusses the use of war as a means of curing internal dissensions, and his main example of this device is the story of Coriolanus, taken directly from North's Plutarch, though he quotes one phrase from Livy:⁵

These enmities haue been instruments in most Countries ouerthrowes, they ouertake vs in our securitie like secret fiers in the night, and are therefore more to be feared, they steale on vs by degrees hidden in the deepnesse of our rest, like the consumption in a body vnpurged, vnexercised, that is indeede lesse painefull yet proues more mortall than most diseases; . . . a perfect remedie to dissipate the other, if wee bee not to our selues defectiue; to wit, forreine warre, a souereigne medicine for domesticall inconueniences. . . . The generall daunger will soone withdraw mens mindes from intestine garboiles to resist the generall mischief, both which appeared in that wise proceeding of the *Senate of Rome in Coriolanus* time that by this means appeased all diuisions, euen then when as *Liue* obserues heat of contention

⁴ P. 102. Cf. the dialogue on the advantages of war at the end of *Cor. IV.v*.

⁵ P. 103. Digges echoes North's actual phrasing, e.g. "The home-tarriers and house-doves that kept Rome still" [not in the original]. "The poore with the riche, and the meane sorte with the Nobilitie, should by this be abroad in the warres, and in one campe, and in one seruice, and in one like danger".

betwixt the people and nobilitie had made, *Ex vna ciuitate duas*. . . . For the populousnesse of that Citie, by reason of their peace occasioning a dearth and a famine, and their idlenesse sturing vp lewd felowes to exasperate the desperate need and enuious malice of the meaner sort, against the nobility, whose pride & luxurie grown through sloth intolerable, caused them to contemne and iniurie the poorer people, in the end the fire brake forth hard to be quenched, and then the *Senate* hauing as I may say bought wit by this deare experience, were at length enforced to flie to this medicine, which wisely applied before, had well preuented all those causes, and their vnhappy effectes. Then they resolued on a warre with the *Volsces* to ease their city of that dearth, by diminishing their number, and appease those tumultuous broyles, by drawing poore with rich, and the meane sort with the Nobilitie, into one campe, one seruice, and one selvesame daunger: sure meanes to procure sure loue and quietnesse in a contentious Commonwealth, as that of *Rome* was at that time.

Yet euen then there wanted not home tarrying hous-doues, two peace-bred tribunes *Sicimus[sic]* and *Brutus*, hindred that resolution calling it cruelty, and it may be some now will condemne this course, as changing for the worse: some that wil much mislike a body breaking-out should take receipts of quicksiluer or mercurie, that may endanger life: yet they cannot but knowe euen those poysons outwardly applied are souereigne medicines to purge and clense, and therefore hauing a good Physition, I must professe, I thinke it much better to take yeerely Physicke. . . .

We cannot be certain that Shakespeare had read *Four Paradoxes*, but there are several indications—apart from his acquaintance with the Digges family—that he may have done so. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, written not long before *Coriolanus*, he twice, and nowhere else, used the word *garboils*;⁶ and in *Coriolanus* itself he uses the metaphor of “breaking out” in three places:⁷

Proceed by Processe,
Least parties (as he is belou'd) breake out,
And sacke great Rome with Romanes.
On a dissention of a Doit, breake out
To bitterest Enmity.⁸

This lyes glowing I cann tell you, and is almost mature for the violent breaking out.

The image in the third passage is taken from a fire; in the other two it is probably derived from disease. Digges, in the passage quoted above, uses the phrase in both senses.⁹

Shakespeare, both before 1604 and as late as *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, thought of war in the same medical terms as Dudley Digges—an idea made easy to his contemporaries by the theory of correspondences between the body politic and the microcosm, as well as by the fact that physicians had frequent recourse to bleeding. As many critics have pointed out, there is a great deal of disease imagery in *Coriolanus*, deriving partly from Menenius' fable.

More significant than the repetition of “breaking forth” is the stress laid by

⁶ I. iii. 61; II. ii. 67. It may be added that *luxuriously* (p. 77) is used once by Shakespeare, in *Antony and Cleopatra*.

⁷ III. i. 375; IV. iv. 17; IV. iii. 27.

⁸ Digges also uses *dissention* and *enmity*.

⁹ In *Sir Thomas More* Shakespeare uses the phrase “breaking out in hideous violence”.

Shakespeare, both in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, on the glory of "the royal occupation" of soldiering. Plutarch, it is true tells us that "in those dayes valiantness was honoured in Rome above all other vertues"; but Dudley Digges devotes a whole essay to this theme. Plutarch, again, mentions that the Consuls hoped "by the meanes of forraigne warre, to pacifie their sedition at home"; but Digges uses this as one of his main arguments in favor of war, and it is his sole reason for re-telling the Coriolanus story. In the play the hero rejoices in the war because

we shall ha' meanes to vent
Our mustie superfluity.

Plutarch mentions that Coriolanus sought to please his mother:

the onely thing that made him to love honour was the joy he sawe his
mother did take in him.

Digges, who does not refer to Volumnia, adopts an attitude not unlike hers, as exemplified in her remarks on her son's wounds,¹⁰ in the passage already quoted from the third essay:

. . . motherlike respect those sonnes that are hir Champions, and seeke to
perchase her . . . honor with effusion of their bloude, her safety with losse
of life.

Although, therefore, Shakespeare could have developed his conception of the play from hints to be found in North's Plutarch, and although there is no certain echo of *Four Paradoxes* in *Coriolanus*, it is possible that Dudley Digges' praise of the military hero, his claim that

the discommoditie
Of our long peace opprest by luxurie

is

worse farre
than warre,

and his retelling of the Coriolanus story as an example of the way in which foreign wars can be used to turn men's minds from seditious thoughts and acts—these things may have contributed to the atmosphere of the play. But if a reading of *Four Paradoxes* sent Shakespeare back to North's account of Coriolanus, it may be surmised that Dudley Digges would scarcely have approved of the element of satire in Shakespeare's portrait of the military hero.¹¹

Another book, published two years later, contains a reference to Coriolanus. This is Richard Knolles' translation of Bodin's *Six Bookes of a Commonweale*.¹² Bodin, after describing "How dangerous a matter it is in euerie commonweale to banish a great man", goes on to mention Coriolanus,

who cast into exile, brought the Romans to such extremitie, as that had he
not suffered himselfe to haue beene ouercome with the prayers and teares

¹⁰ I. iii. 1-27; II. i. 163 ff.

¹¹ My thanks are due to the Folger Shakespeare Library for permission to quote from *Four Paradoxes*.

¹² S.T.C. 3193, p. 431. James Emerson Phillips, Jr., *The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays* (1940), has a good summary of Bodin's views and of his influence on Elizabethan thought.

of his mother, and the other women whom the Romans had sent vnto him, the Roman State had then taken end.

Bodin has a long analysis of the disadvantages of the democratic form of government, which include the fickleness and ingratitude of the people. This context illustrates the significance the Coriolanus story had for some, at least, of Shakespeare's original audience.

A third book, also published in 1606, has some links with *Coriolanus*, though there is no direct evidence that Shakespeare was acquainted with it. This was entitled *A Comparative Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politique. Wherein out of the principles of Nature, is set forth the true forme of a Commonweale, with the dutie of Subiects, and the right of the soueraigne*, by Edward Forset.¹³ As its title implies, this book is an elaborate comparison between the human body and the body politic, starting from Menenius' fable:¹⁴

This similitude was both fitly and fortunately enforced by *Menenius Agrippa*, who being employed in the appeasing and perswading of the seditious reuolting commons of Rome, did by a very tale of this proportionable respectiuenes of the parts in mans body, and the mutualitie of kindnes and ayd afforded from each to other, so sensibly shew them their error, that surseasing their malignant enuy wherewith they were intraged against their rulers (whom they accounted as the idle belly that swallowed the labors of their hands) they discerned at the last, that their repining against, and their pining of that belly, whence was distributed vnto them their bloud and nourishment, necessarily tended to their owne destruction; and were thereupon forthwith reclaimed into their bounds of obedience.¹⁵

In the early part of the book Forset argues that "in euerie ciuill state there must be the ruling and the ruled"; that there is no government without law; that a sovereign is wise to show himself to his people—Forset saying, cautiously, in view of James I's dislike of crowds:

I cannot tell whether the contrarie sternenesse (in haughtily shunning or repulsing their aspect) will not haue (in the euen eye of a well regarding policie) the greater disallowing.

The King is compared both to the head and the heart, and Forset stresses, in accordance with the fable, the mutuality of help in the members of the commonwealth. There is an eloquent attack on the Gunpowder conspirators (p. 51).

In the last section of the book there is a discussion of the diseases of the commonwealth, magistrates being compared to physicians and surgeons. This application of the fable is not peculiar to Forset, though it was not done by Livy, Plutarch, Camden, Sidney, or Averell, whose versions Shakespeare is thought to have read,¹⁶ but in view of the numerous disease images in *Coriolanus* it is interesting to observe the extended comparison between diseases of the body and diseases in the commonwealth. He tells us:¹⁷

¹³ S.T.C. 11188. Cf. Phillips, pp. 69 ff.

¹⁴ "To the Reader".

¹⁵ It may be mentioned that *persuade*, *accounted* and *idle* are used in the first scene of *Coriolanus*, and that *enforced*, *repined*(3), *surcease*(3), *sensibly*(4), and *enraged* appear elsewhere in the play. (The numbers indicate the total number of times the words are used in Shakespeares plays.)

¹⁶ Cf. K. Muir, *Shakespeare's Sources*, I (1957), p. 223, and N.Q. (1953) pp. 240-242.

¹⁷ P. 72. The word *infringe*(6) is used in *Coriolanus*.

Diseases arise as in the body naturall by distemper of humours; so in the politicall, by disorder of manners: and as in the bodie naturall they doe hinder, peruert, and corrupt the orderly actions of nature; so in the politicall they do impeach, infringe, and resist the proceedings and regiment of a iust gouernance.

Forset proceeds to discuss the remedies against diseases in both cases:

As against all diseases of the naturall bodie the skill and application of Phisicke is ordained; so against the corruption of manners in the politicall bodie, wholesome lawes be provided: whereof where the more be made, the more it argueth the sinfulness of that people, as the vse of much phisicke argueth much distemper So the lawes and prouisions against offences in the State (like to a well directed Phisicke) are to range vnder the regiment of the Soueraigne with a seruiceable subalternation, recognizing him as the principall Phisicion for the redressing or remedying the maladies of the bodie politique. (P. 73)

Constables, Bailiffs, Jurors, "and such like", act as physicians to the civil body (p. 74); and just as the incompetence of some doctors makes people regard their "professions and practise, as vnnescessarie" (pp. 74-75), so there are many

that taking offence at the vnsufficiencie or corruptions of some magistrates and officers of iustice, either vtterly denie the lawfulness of their calling, or at the least spurne and repine at their administration.

Just as the physician should endeavor to keep people healthy, and cure them when they are ill,

So the Magistrats function is either to hold all vpriht when the state is in a good case, or to recure that which shall become vnsound. (P. 75)

Like the physician, the magistrate has different remedies, according to the nature of the trouble:

They haue some exasperating heaters, to digest and draw out the cores of corruption: They haue some drying consumers, to waste away the superfluous confluence¹⁸ of any annoying matter: They haue some attractive openers, to loose and draw forth any inwardly infixed festerings: They haue dispersers & dissoluers of any gathered together or swelling putrifactions: They haue repercussiuues,¹⁹ to suppress and repell all beginning outrages: They haue expellers of all that is hurtfull and burdenous, cleansing the verie fountaynes of euill. (P. 76)

Forset proceeds to argue that the faults of great men are most dangerous, as disease in an important part of the body causes the whole body to be

vexed with giddinesse and tumults: so when great men of a better condition, and higher degree, shall grow humerous, opinionate, and factious, (besides their withdrawing of their faith, allegiance, and former good seruices) they doe not only seduce the vnskilfull and vnruely Commons, but also traine on with their suggestion of colourable causes, some officers of publike trust

¹⁸ Used only in *Timon*; but Shakespeare might have picked up the word from *Sejanus* in which he acted in 1603.

¹⁹ *Percussion* is used in *Coriolanus*, but not elsewhere in Shakespeare.

(as parts of the reasonable power) to adhere vnto them in their misconceiuing aduentures, till all be endangered by such mutinous confusion.

The forenoted diseases settled in the nobler parts, are the more principaly to be provided for, and it is ordinarie to withdraw the anguish thereof, to some of the lesse principall, yea though it should be with torments of incision, burning, or ligature. (Pp. 80-81)

Just as the patient has to be restrained from the use of hurtful food, so "traiterous complotters and the vngouerned" have to be restrained from "riches and honor" (pp. 83-84). Where a disease is "particular only to one part", amputation is desirable:

there, rather than a continuall molesting & annoying grievance should encumber the ioyes of life, the part wherunto such paine sticketh & is so affixed, as that it cannot be remoued or remedied, were better to be pulled out, cut of, & disserued from the bodie: howbeit much extremitie is to be abidden, and many waies for healing are to be tried befor it com to so hard a passe, as to harden the hart to endure such violence. (P. 84)

So when Sicinius says that Coriolanus is a "disease that must be cut away", Menenius pleads:

Oh he's a Limbe, that ha's but a Disease:
Mortall, to cut it off: to cure it, easie. (III. i. 295)

A few lines later Sicinius repeats the idea of amputation:

The seruice of the foote
Being once gangren'd is not then respected
For what before it was.

There is a considerable amount of disease imagery in the first four acts of the play,²⁰ but the significant images from the present standpoint, those relating to the sickness of the commonweal, are concentrated into the first scene of the third act. Coriolanus speaks of the contagion of democracy—

those Meazels
Which we disdaine should Tetter vs, yet sought
The very way to catch them. (III. i. 78)

He speaks of those

That preferre
A Noble life, before a Long, and Wish
To iumpe a Body with a dangerous Physicke,
That's sure of death without it. (III. i. 152)

Brutus, like Forset, realises that desperate diseases of the state require desperate remedies:

Sir, those cold wayes,
That seeme like prudent helpes, are very poysonous,
Where the Disease is violent. (III. i. 220)

²⁰ E.g. scabs (I. i. 161), sick man's appetite (I. i. 173), contagion (I. iv. 30), feverous (I. iv. 61), physical (I. v. 18), sovereign prescription (II. i. 108), cankered country (IV. v. 92).

A senator urges Coriolanus to leave them "to cure this Cause" (III.i.234); and Menenius adds:

For 'tis a Sore vpon vs,
You cannot Tent your selfe.

Brutus speaks of Coriolanus' treason as an infection (III.i.209).

Shakespeare had, of course, often referred to the sickness of the state in the Histories, in *Hamlet* and in *Macbeth*; and the recurrence of the disease imagery in conjunction with Menenius' fable may not have been suggested by Forset's book. But even if Shakespeare had not read the book, it can be seen that there is much in *Coriolanus* which many of its original audience would have found familiar. The danger of "diseases settled in the nobler parts" was well known to them; and though they would have little sympathy with democratic ideas, they would have been more critical of Coriolanus himself than some Shakespearian commentators have been.

Two more books may be mentioned briefly. Laurentius Grimalus Goslicius' *Commonwealth of Good Counsaile*, a translation of which was published in 1607, and William Fulbecke's *The Pandectes of the Law of Nations* (1602). In commenting on inborn patriotism, Goslicius mentions²¹ that "euen the wicked and most vnnatural subiectes, attempting the subuersion of their country" have "stayed their handes from performing so wicked an enterprise" as soon as they see their native soil. He illustrates the point by showing the ease with which Veturia (i.e. Volumnia) dissuaded her son from destroying Rome. But, with the ambivalent attitude of most writers on Coriolanus, Goslicius speaks of his piety in pardoning his country,

which through the crueltie of the Tribunes, at that time persecuting the Nobilitie, had beene to him vnthankfull.

Goslicius remarks that "it is a thing most perilous, that the magistrates of any state should be chosen by the multitude", and he comments unfavorably on the creation of the Tribunes:

In *Rome* likewise the multitude not induring the dignitie of the Senate, made manie motions, and in the ende created *Tribunes*, by whose furie and insolency, the authoritie of the Senate was diminished, and by sedition and troubles brought the state to vtter destruction.

Finally, William Fulbecke in *The Pandectes of the Law of Nations*,²² alludes to the banishment of Coriolanus in his chapter on the horrors of democracy. He argues that

the heele can not stand in place of the head, vnlesse the bodie be destroyed and the anatomic monstrous: it is against the nature of the people to beare rule: for they are as vnfit for regiment, as a mad man to giue counsaile This beast of many heades hath a threeforked tongue: with the one part it tickleth the eares of them whom they flatter: with the other it licketh their wounds: with the last, and sharpest it pricketh their hearts The wayward people may be iustly compared to a bundell of thornes, which will beare vp a great man, but will pricke him if he leane or lie vpon it.

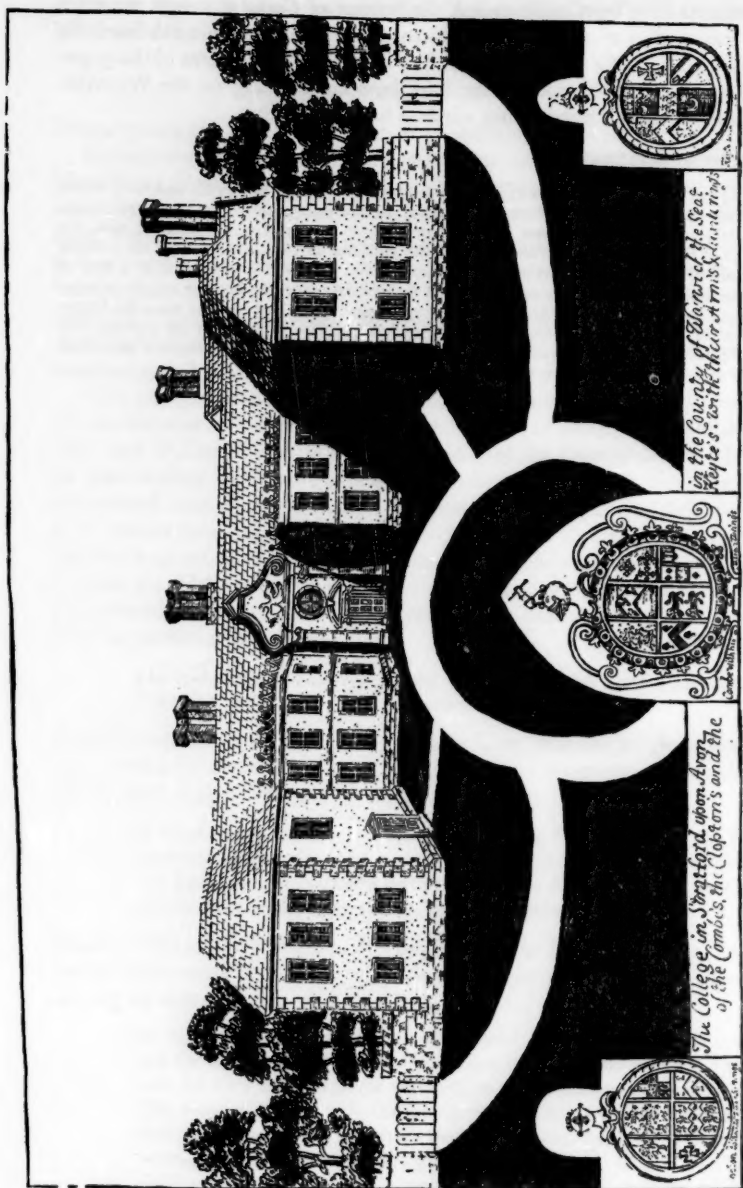
²¹ S.T.C. 12373, pp. 32, 67, 80-81.

²² Fol. 29 ff. Cited in part by Phillips.

Attempts have been made to link the writing of *Coriolanus* with the Midlands insurrection of 1607, and even to suggest that Shakespeare exhibited the terrified reactions of a man of property.²⁸ It is part of the argument of this paper that even though Shakespeare may have been commenting on the Warwickshire troubles he was also writing within a literary tradition.

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²⁸ Cf., e.g., Brents Stirling, *The Populace in Shakespeare* (1940), pp. 125 ff., and E. C. Pettet, "Coriolanus and the Midlands Insurrection of 1607" in *Shakespeare Survey* 3 (1950), pp. 34-40. It may be worth while to point out that a document cited in support of this point of view, the manifesto of the Diggers of Warwickshire, originally published in 1846, could not, on the evidence of the handwriting, have been written in the reign of James I, though it is presumably a copy of a genuine document. (Collier was connected with its publication, but the MS was happily in existence before Collier was born.) The use of the word "diggers" antedates by forty years the Digger Movement of which Gerard Winstanley was the spokesman. Two explanations are possible: that "digger" is merely used as a synonym for agricultural labourer, or that Winstanley's movement belonged to a submerged tradition of agrarian agitation.



The College of Priests in Stratford, erected near Holy Trinity Church about 1353 by Ralph de Stratford. The College was dissolved in 1539, but the building was not demolished until 1799. From the drawing by Richard Greene, about 1750, in the Folger Shakespeare Library. See p. 256.

Macbeth: The Pattern of Idea and Action

IRVING RIBNER

MACBETH is in many ways Shakespeare's maturest and most daring experiment in tragedy, for in this play he set himself to describe the operation of evil in all its manifestations: to define its very nature, to depict its seduction of man, and to show its effect upon all of the planes of creation once it has been unleashed by one man's sinful moral choice. It is this final aspect which here receives Shakespeare's primary attention and which conditions the sombre mood of the play. Shakespeare anatomizes evil both in intellectual and emotional terms, using all of the devices of poetry, and most notably the images of blood and darkness which so many commentators have described. For his final end of reconciliation, he relied not upon audience identification with his hero, but rather upon an intellectual perception of the total play. In this lay his most original departure.

Macbeth is a closely knit, unified construction, every element of which is designed to support an intellectual statement, to which action, character, and poetry all contribute. The idea which governs the plays is primarily explicit in the action of the central character, Macbeth himself; his role is cast into a symbolic pattern which is a reflection of Shakespeare's view of evil's operation in the world.¹ The other characters serve dramatic functions designed to set off the particular intellectual problems implicit in the action of the central figure.² The basic pattern of the play is a simple one, for which Shakespeare returned to an earlier formula he had used in *Richard III*. The hero accepts evil in the third scene of the play. In the second act he commits the deed to which his choice of evil must inevitably lead him, and for the final three acts, as he rises higher in worldly power he sinks deeper and deeper into evil, until at the end of the play he is utterly and finally destroyed.

There is here no pattern of redemption or regeneration for the fallen hero as in *King Lear*.³ Shakespeare's final statement, however, is not one of despair, for out of the play comes a feeling of reconciliation which does affirm the kind of meaning in the world with which great tragedy must end.⁴ In the earlier tragedies this feeling had been created largely through the regeneration of an essentially sympathetic hero. In *Macbeth*, however, there can be little doubt of the final damnation of "this dead butcher and his fiend-like queen" (V. viii. 69).

¹ "The wise man", as Walter Clyde Curry has written, "will not limit his attention to the symbol as such, however fascinating it may be . . . he will recognize that the function of the dramatic symbol is to stimulate the imagination to the point of grasping some underlying emotional, moral, or intellectual content." *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* (Baton Rouge, 1937), p. 55.

² See Leo Kirchbaum, "Banquo and Edgar: Character or Function", *Essays in Criticism*, VII (1957), 1-21.

³ See O. J. Campbell, "The Salvation of Lear", *ELH*, XV (1948), 93-109.

⁴ See Henry Alonzo Meyers, *Tragedy: A View of Life* (Ithaca, 1956), p. 119.

The audience is made to see, however, that Macbeth is destroyed by counterforces which he himself sets in motion. We may thus, viewing the play in its totality, see good, through divine grace, inevitably emerging from evil and triumphant at the play's end with a promise of rebirth. Robert Speaight, although he argues that "the poet's personal beliefs are always indistinct", is forced to admit also that "no ending in Shakespeare is more profoundly theological than this one."⁵

This philosophical end, as it must be in all great drama, is cast in terms of specific characters and specific action. The characters are not real people, but Shakespeare's art lies in his ability to create the illusion that they are. Ultimately their functions are symbolic ones dictated by the over-all intellectual concerns of the play; they are embodiments of specific ideas, but these are given "a local habitation and a name". Shakespeare as an artist goes beyond the mere philosopher in that his abstract ideas are tested in the imaginative setting of real life situation. They are given emotional contexts, and the effect of his tragedies is to create a kind of tension between feeling and idea, between our emotional involvement in a specific situation and our rational contemplation of its total meaning. Shakespeare is a realistic artist, but he is a symbolic one as well. It is this latter aspect of *Macbeth* which this essay will emphasize, and if idea implicit in character appears at times to be over-stressed, this is not to deny the illusion of reality with which the characters are endowed. The tradition of medieval and Renaissance allegory always couched its symbolism in realistic terms, as *Piers Plowman*, *The Faerie Queene* or *Pilgrim's Progress* may well illustrate.

Symbolic elements in *Macbeth* have been treated in two well-known essays by G. Wilson Knight.⁶ He has pointed, like A. C. Bradley before him,⁷ to the pervading mood of darkness and fear in the play, to the imagery of blood, fire, sleep, and animal nature, and all of the symbols in the play combine for him to convey an imaginative impression of evil. But Knight sees in *Macbeth* merely a poetic recreation of an atmosphere of evil, unrelated to any ethical system.⁸ I should like to suggest, on the contrary, that Shakespeare describes evil—and much in the poetic terms which Wilson Knight so well recognizes—not merely for the sake of the imaginative creation, but in terms of a definite ethical system which the play as a whole is designed to embody, that the basic element in a Shakespearean tragedy is ethical idea, and that it is this which informs and shapes plot and character as well as mood.⁹

The action of *Macbeth* falls into two distinct parts, each carefully shaped as part of the greater whole. There is first a choice of evil by the hero, in which Shakespeare defines the nature of evil and explains the process by which man is led to choose it. This occupies roughly the first two acts, although Shakespeare by recurrent image and symbol keeps these dominant ideas before his audience

⁵ *Nature in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1955), p. 68.

⁶ "Macbeth and the Metaphysics of Evil", in *The Wheel of Fire* (London, 1930), pp. 154-174; "The Milk of Concord", in *The Imperial Theme* (London, 1951), pp. 125-123.

⁷ *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1904), pp. 333-340.

⁸ *The Wheel of Fire*, p. 174.

⁹ Virgil K. Whitaker, *Shakespeare's Use of Learning* (San Marino, 1953), p. 299, has fittingly called *Macbeth* "Shakespeare's greatest monument to the ethical system that his age inherited from Western Christianity and the classical world." The play, however, is not mere *exemplum* designed to illustrate the moral ideas of Hooker or the *Daemonology* of James I. It is an imaginative exploration of an ethical system in the light of its contraries and in terms of specific situation and character.

throughout the rest of the play. The last three acts exhibit the manner of evil's operation simultaneously on four levels: that of fallen man himself, that of the family, the state, and the physical universe. As evil operates on each of these planes, however, it generates at the same time forces of good, until at the end of the play we see evil destroyed on each of the four planes of creation and the harmonious order of God restored. The play is an ordered and controlled exploration of evil, in which Shakespeare fulfills the function of the philosophical poet as surely as did Dante in the *Divine Comedy*.

II

It has been pointed out that Othello and Lear in their falls parallel the fall of Adam,¹⁰ and like Adam they are able to learn in their disasters the nature of evil and thus attain a kind of victory in defeat. The destruction of Macbeth, on the contrary, is cast in the pattern of the fall of Satan himself, and the play is full of analogies between Satan and Macbeth.¹¹ Like Satan, Macbeth is from the first entirely aware of the evil he embraces, and like Satan he can never renounce his free-willed moral choice, once it has been made. It is thus appropriate that the force of evil in *Macbeth* be symbolized by Satan's own sin of ambition. This sin for Shakespeare, as it had been for Aquinas, was an aspect of pride, the worst of the medieval seven deadly sins.¹² In the neatly ordered and harmonious universe of which Renaissance man conceived, it stood for a rebellion against the will of God and thus against the order of nature. "The Christian conception of evil", writes Curry (p. 112), "combines the negative element of departure from God, the absence of good, with a positive element involving the rebellion of the perverted finite will against the mandates of the infinite will." Macbeth, through love of self, sets his own will against that of God, chooses a lesser finite good—kingship and power—rather than a greater infinite one. Shakespeare in Macbeth's moral choice is offering a definition of evil in fairly traditional terms.

The ambitious man will strive to rise higher on the great chain of being than the place which God has ordained for him. To do so he must break the bond which ties him on the one hand to God and on the other to humanity. Immediately before the murder of Banquo, Macbeth utters lines which often have been misinterpreted by commentators:

Come seeling night,
Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day;
And with thy bloody and invisible hand
Cancel and tear to pieces the great bond
Which keeps me pale! (III. ii. 46-50)

The "great bond" has usually been glossed either as the prophecy of the witches or as Banquo's lease on life, neither of which is very meaningful within the context of the passage. The bond, as Wilson Knight has perceived,¹³ can only

¹⁰ See Paul N. Siegel, *Shakespearean Tragedy and the Elizabethan Compromise* (New York, 1957), pp. 119-140, 161-188.

¹¹ M. D. H. Parker, *The Slave of Life* (London, 1953), pp. 163-164; Siegel, pp. 142-160; J. Dover Wilson, ed. *Macbeth* (Cambridge, 1947), p. lxvi.

¹² Parker, p. 150.

¹³ *The Wheel of Fire*, p. 169.

refer to the link which ties Macbeth to humanity and enjoins him to obey the natural law of God. Macbeth is calling upon the Satanic forces of darkness to break this bond of nature and thus enable him again to defy the laws of man and God, to murder his friend and guest.

Many critics have pointed out that Macbeth's crime is specifically depicted by Shakespeare as unnatural, as opposed to the harmony of the universe. This statement of the nature of evil is reinforced by "life images", the imagery of planting and husbandry, of feasting and conviviality, by the pleasant evocation of the calmness and beauty of nature as Duncan and Banquo enter the dread castle walls (I. iv. 1-9).¹⁴ Duncan himself is symbolic of the fruitful aspects of nature; he is the source of the goodness which Macbeth may hope to glean from life:

I have begun to plant thee, and will labour
To make thee full of growing. (I. iv. 28-29)

Macbeth in murdering Duncan thus cuts off the source of his own being, and this idea is echoed in Lady Macbeth's "Had he not resembled / My father as he slept, I had done it" (II. ii. 13-14), for this line is largely choral commentary to emphasize the father symbolism with which Duncan is endowed.

Macbeth's sin, like that of Satan before him, is thus a deliberate repudiation of nature, a defiance of God. All of the natural forces which mitigate against the deed are evoked by Macbeth himself:

He's here in double trust,
First, as I am his kinsman and his subject,
Strong both against the deed; then, as his host,
Who should against his murderer shut the door,
Not bear the knife himself. Besides, this Duncan
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking-off. (I. vii. 12-20)

His realization of the unnaturalness of the act he contemplates is in his reply to his wife's reflection on his courage:

I dare do all that may become a man,
Who dares do more is none. (I. vii. 47-48)

It is Macbeth's knowing and deliberate denial of God and his rejection of the law of nature which set him apart from the heroes of *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *Lear*. His voluntary choice of evil, moreover, closes the way of redemption to him, for in denying nature he cuts off the source of redemption, and he must end in total destruction and despair. He is like Marlowe's Faustus in this. Once he has given his "eternal jewel" to the "common enemy of man", he must abide by the contract he has made.

Other examples could be cited of the constant references to Macbeth's crimes

¹⁴ Wilson Knight, *The Imperial Theme*, pp. 125-153; L. C. Knights, "How Many Children had Lady Macbeth?" in *Explorations* (New York, 1947), pp. 36-38; Cleanth Brooks, "The Naked Babe and the Cloak of Manliness", in *The Well Wrought Urn* (New York, 1947), pp. 43-44; Speaight, *Nature in Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 44-48.

as contrary to nature, to the diabolic imagery, the juxtaposition in poetic terms of Macbeth's crime against the source of life which it destroys. Suffice it to emphasize that Shakespeare here is using the dramatic and poetic devices at his command in order to define evil as a corrupting force which destroys the harmonious order of nature and which cuts off at the root the sustenance which makes life possible; that evil operates through deception, appealing to those emotions in man which may cause him to set a lesser good above a greater one. These deliberate intellectual statements condition the content of the play.

III

The characters of *Macbeth* are not shaped primarily to conform to a psychological verisimilitude, but to make explicit the intellectual statements with which the play is concerned. They have choral and symbolic functions. The illusion of reality with which Shakespeare endows them serves merely to embody their symbolic functions in specific emotional terms. Successful as the illusion may be, Lady Macbeth, Banquo, the witches are not whole figures about whom we can ask such questions as Bradley asked¹⁵ and could only answer by divorcing them from the context of the play. All that we need know about the witches is that they are as Dover Wilson has well put it (p. xxi), "the incarnation of evil in the universe, all the more effective dramatically that their nature is never defined". They are no more than convenient dramatic symbols for evil.¹⁶ To question closely the motives of Banquo or Lady Macbeth, with their many and obvious inconsistencies, is equally fruitless, for they function primarily as dramatic vehicles whose action is governed by the demands not of fact or psychology, but of intellectual design.

As symbols of evil, the witches are made contrary to nature. They are women with the beards of men; their incantation is a Black Mass, and the hell broth they stir consists of the disunified parts of men and animals, creation in chaos. They deliberately wait for Macbeth and Banquo, as they wait for all men. They do not, however, suggest evil to man, as Whitaker (p. 289), Curry (pp. 75-78) and Muir (pp. lxiv-lxv) have all pointed out, for the impulse to evil must come from within man himself. They simply suggest an object which may incite the inclination to evil which is always within man because of original sin, and they do this by means of prophecy. Thus the good man, like Banquo, can resist their appeal, for man shares in the grace of God as well as in original sin.

The witches hold forth the promise of worldly good, as all evil must, for if it were not attractive it would offer no temptation to man. What Shakespeare wishes to stress is that its promises are false ones, that seeming truths are half truths, and that, in general, evil works through deception, by posing as the friend of man. Thus Eve had been seduced by Satan, and thus Othello had been seduced by "Honest" Iago. Banquo recognizes the Satanic origin of the witches: "What, can the devil speak true?" (I.ii.106), and he perceives the manner in which they work:

¹⁵ *Shakespearean Tragedy*, particularly pp. 480-493.

¹⁶ For Bradley (pp. 339-343) and Whitaker (p. 288), the witches are merely old women in communion with evil spirits. For Curry, (p. 79) they are "demons in the guise of witches". They were the Norns of Scandinavian mythology for Kittredge, ed. *Macbeth* (Boston, 1939), pp. xviii-xix. But ultimately these are all meaningless speculations, for Shakespeare does not supply the answers.

And oftentimes, to win us to our harm,
 The instruments of darkness tell us truths,
 Win us with honest trifles, to betray's
 In deepest consequence. (I. iii. 122-126)

To make this statement about the deceptive nature of evil, Shakespeare works into the texture of his play the theme of appearance versus reality which so many critics have noticed. There is always confusion and uncertainty in the appearance of evil, darkness rather than light, never the clear, rational certainty which is in the natural order of the good. This theme is in Macbeth's opening remark: "So foul and fair a day I have not seen" (I. iii. 38). "There's no art / To find the mind's construction in the face" (I. iv. 12-13) says Duncan, and Lady Macbeth cautions her husband to "look like the innocent flower, / But be the serpent under't" (I. v. 66-67). Macbeth himself acknowledges that "False face must hide what the false heart doth know" (I. vii. 82).

Not until the very end of the play does Macbeth learn how evil works. It offers to him, it seems, the finite good, kingship and power, which his perverted will causes him to place above the infinite good of God's order; thus evil becomes his good. He relies upon this promise, trusting the prophecy of the witches to the very last, and thus unknowingly bringing about his own destruction and the restitution of natural order. Only when Birnam wood has in fact come to Dunsinane and he faces a foe not born of woman, does the deception in the witches' promises become apparent to him:

And be these juggling fiends no more believed,
 That palter with us in a double sense;
 That keep the word of promise to our ear,
 And break it to our hope. (V. viii. 19-22)

Banquo, as Kirchbaum has indicated,¹⁷ stands opposed to Macbeth as a kind of morality figure. The witches offer him temptation not unlike what they offer Macbeth, and Banquo is sorely tempted, as any man must be. This is best revealed in a short speech which both for Bradley and Wilson Knight¹⁸ was evidence that Banquo too had been corrupted by evil:

yet it was said
 It should not stand in thy posterity,
 But that myself should be the root and father
 Of many kings. If there come truth from them—
 As upon thee, Macbeth, their speeches shine—
 Why, by the verities on thee made good,
 May they not be my oracles as well,
 And set me up in hope? But hush! no more. (III. i. 3-10)

The difference between the two men is that Banquo is able to resist the temptation to which Macbeth succumbs. Banquo is ordinary man, with his mixture of good and evil, open to evil's soliciting, but able to resist it. It is in such a man, Shakespeare is saying, that the hope for the future lies. This hope is embodied in Fleance, and thus, in terms of the play's total conceptual pattern,

¹⁷ *Essays in Criticism*, VII (1957), 5.

¹⁸ *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 379-387; *The Wheel of Fire*, pp. 165-166.

it is impossible for Macbeth to kill him. Evil can never destroy the ultimate promise of good.

Banquo, humanly weak and subject to temptation, stands nevertheless, "in the great hand of God" (II.iii.133). Symbolically he represents one aspect of Macbeth, the side of ordinary humanity which Macbeth must destroy within himself before he can give his soul entirely to the forces of darkness. For this reason he must murder Banquo, and it is why the dead Banquo returns to him as a reminder that, as a man, he cannot easily extinguish the human force within himself, that the torment of fear, the "terrible dreams / that shake us nightly" (III.ii.18-19), the scorpions in his mind (III.ii.36), will continue until his own final destruction. Banquo and his ghost are used to illuminate the basic conflict within the mind of Macbeth.

Macduff and Malcolm serve similar symbolic functions. Macduff, in particular, is a force of nemesis generated by Macbeth's own course of evil. Malcolm, as E. M. W. Tillyard has indicated,¹⁹ is Shakespeare's portrait of the ideal king, and his function chiefly is to represent a restitution of order in the state. One of the basic spheres of action in this play, of course, is on the level of the state, and *Macbeth* is full of political considerations which come to a head in the crucial scene in which Macduff and Malcolm meet in England. The political implications of this scene I have elsewhere treated.²⁰ Suffice it to note here that it is designed by Shakespeare to define the nature of tyranny, to delineate the character of the ideal king, and to prepare for the restitution of order in Scotland with the coming of such a king.

Just as Banquo symbolizes that side of Macbeth which would accept nature and reject evil, Lady Macbeth stands for the contrary side.²¹ Her function is to second Macbeth in the moral choice which is his alone, to mitigate against those forces within him which are in opposition to evil. Macbeth is thus much in the position of the traditional morality play hero placed between good and evil angels. The side of his wife seduces him, and that of Banquo must be destroyed.

It is for this reason, as has so often been pointed out, that the imagery of her speeches draws upon corruptions of nature and reversal of the normal life impulses. She calls upon the forces of darkness to support her in her purposes:

Come you spirits

That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
Of direst cruelty! make thick my blood;
Stop up the access and passage to remorse,
That no compunctious visiting of nature
Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
The effect and it! Come to my women's breasts,
And take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers,

¹⁹ *Shakespeare's History Plays* (New York, 1947), p. 317.

²⁰ *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 254-259.

²¹ Dover Wilson (p. xxxviii) has held that her character was more fully developed in a longer version of the play, of which he holds that the Folio text represents Shakespeare's own abridgement. That the evidence for such an earlier version is highly questionable Kenneth Muir has indicated in his New Arden edition (London, 1951), p. lviii. Be this as it may, Shakespeare's final version shows only as much of her as is necessary to make clear her symbolic function.

Wherever in your sightless substances
 You wait on nature's mischief! Come, thick night,
 And pall me in the dunkest smoke of hell,
 That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
 Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
 To cry 'Hold, hold.' (I. iv. 41-55)

It is fitting that Shakespeare should use a woman for this purpose, for woman is the normal symbol of life and nourishment, and thus the dramatist can emphasize the strangeness and unnaturalness of the very contraries to which Lady Macbeth appeals and for which she stands. She must become unsexed, and her milk must convert to gall. Her very need, moreover, to put aside her feminine nature informs the illusion of reality in her characterization and gives to her emotional appeal as well as intellectual meaning.

The motif of the unnatural is evoked again in her savage cry:

I have given suck, and know
 How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me:
 I would, while it was smiling in my face,
 Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums
 And dash'd the brains out. (I. vii. 54-58)

We cannot say whether she actually has children or not, for this speech is not designed to convey fact. It is a ritual statement in which Shakespeare seizes upon a strikingly unnatural image to emphasize that she is urging Macbeth on the basis of all which is opposed to nature and the order of God. If Shakespeare, later in the play, in Macduff's "He has no children" (IV. iii. 216) seems to indicate that Macbeth is childless, it is not that he has forgotten the earlier speech. There he wishes merely to emphasize the intensity of Macduff's feeling in the same ritual manner.

Throughout the play Lady Macbeth's femininity is held in constant juxtaposition to the unnatural forces she would call into play. In the murder scene her unnatural aspect is dominant, but her femininity comes through in her inability to kill the king herself. When the body is discovered, she is the first to collapse. This careful juxtaposition of contraries comes to a head when she walks in her sleep in the fifth act. Here the images of blood are mingled with her feminine desire for the "perfumes of Arabia" to "sweeten this little hand" (V. i. 56). No more than Macbeth can lightly break his bond with humanity, can his wife escape the woman in her which mitigates against the unnatural force of evil which in the thematic structure of the play she represents. In her death by suicide, moreover, there is further emphasis upon the theme which dominates the play; that evil inevitably must breed its own destruction.

All of the characters thus perform symbolic functions within the greater intellectual whole which constitutes the play. They embody specific ideas which are implicit in action, and taken together they represent the sum of humanity in relation to evil. Humanity in this play, Speaight has written, "is divided into three groups; there is man in a state of damnation—Macbeth and his wife; there is average sinful man—Malcolm, Macduff and Banquo; and there is man in a state of innocence, represented by the two kings Duncan and Edward."²²

²² *Nature in Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 66.

We must qualify this, however, by noting that Malcolm and Macduff represent something more than ordinary, sinful man, and that all of the other characters are secondary to Macbeth, whose behavior they are designed to set off and explain. Wilson Knight, in his preoccupation with the mood of evil which dominates the play, sees all of the characters as equally ensnared by it.²⁸ He thus fails to note the distinction among character functions which is part of the symbolism of the play, and in which its ethical idea is implicit. This may well illustrate the dangers of a concentration upon poetic atmosphere which slights the logic of action and negates the factors of audience participation and sympathy which are indispensable considerations in drama.

IV

The specific act of evil occurs on two planes, that of the state and that of Macbeth's "single state of man" (I. iii. 140); the crime is both ethical and political, for Macbeth murders not only his kinsman and guest, but his king as well. Once evil is unleashed, however, it corrupts all of the planes of creation, not only those of man and the state, but those of the family and the physical universe as well. Action, character, symbolic ritual and the powerful emotional impact of poetic imagery all combine to further a specific intellectual concept: the all-embracing destructive force of evil which touches every area of God's creation.

That the physical universe itself is thrown out of harmony is made clear in the speech of Lennox immediately following the murder:

The night has been unruly: where we lay,
Our chimneys were blown down; and, as they say,
Lamentings heard i' the air; strange screams of death,
And prophesying with accents terrible
Of dire combustion and confused events
New hatched to the woeful time: the obscure bird
Clamour'd the livelong night: some say, the earth
Was feverous and did shake. (II. iii. 59-66)

This theme is even more strongly emphasized in a short scene in which Ross speaks to a nameless old man. The strange phenomena here described are all perversions of physical nature which indicate that one man's crime has thrown the entire universe out of harmony:

Thou seest, the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock 'tis day,
And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp:
Is't night's predominance, or the day's shame,
That darkness does the face of earth entomb,
When living light should kiss it? (II. iv. 4-9)

The order of nature is reversed, the sun blotted out. On the animal level, a falcon is killed by a mousing owl, and most horrible of all:

Duncan's horses—a thing most strange and certain—
Beauteous and swift, the minions of their race,

²⁸ *The Wheel of Fire*, pp. 166-168.

Turn'd wild in nature, broke their stalls, flung out,
 Contending 'gainst obedience, as they would make
 War against mankind. (II. iv. 14-18)

Man by his sin has forfeited his dominion over nature: horses turn against their natural master, and, as the old man affirms, "they eat each other".

This perversion of nature, however, contains within itself the means of restoring harmony, for Shakespeare uses the very perversion itself, a moving forest and a child unborn of mother to herald the downfall of the tyrant and thus to restore the physical universe to its natural state of perfection.²⁴ That the forest does not really move, and that Macduff was only technically so born is of no significance, for Shakespeare is giving us here not scientific fact, but dramatic symbol to emphasize the theme of the play that in the working out of evil is implicit a rebirth of good.

On the level of the state Macbeth unleashes the greatest evils of which Shakespeare's audience could conceive, tyranny, civil war, and an invading foreign army. The tyranny of Macbeth's reign, moreover is set off by the initial description of the gentility and justice of Duncan's previous rule. Shakespeare here deliberately alters his source, for Holinshed had stressed Duncan's feeble and slothful administration, and he had, by way of contrast, praised Macbeth for his striving after justice and for the excellence of at least the first ten years of his reign.

The disorder in the state as it works out its course is also the source of its own extinction and the restoration of political harmony. The very tyranny of Macbeth arouses Macduff against him, causes Malcolm to assert the justice of his title, and causes the saint-like English King, Edward the Confessor, to take arms against Macbeth. King Edward's curing of the scrofula (IV. ii), an episode which Dover Wilson (p. xxxiii) like so many other critics has regarded as "of slight dramatic relevance", is Shakespeare's means of underscoring that Edward is an instrument of supernatural grace,²⁵ designed to cleanse the unnatural evil in the state, just as he may remove evil from individual man. It is Macbeth's very tyranny which has made him "ripe for shaking, and the powers above/ Put on their instruments" (IV. iii. 237-238).

On the level of the family, the relationship between Macbeth and his wife steadily deteriorates. At the beginning of the play their relationship is one of the closest and most intimate in all literature. She is "my dearest partner in greatness" (I. v. 10-11), and much as it harrows him himself to think of its implications, he sends her immediate word of the witches' prophecy, so that she may not "lose the dues of rejoicing" (I. v. 11-12). The very terror of the murder scene only further emphasizes the closeness of the murderers. But as the force of evil severs Macbeth from the rest of humanity, it breaks also the bond which ties him to his wife. He lives more and more closely with his own fears into which she cannot intrude, as the banquet scene well illustrates. She cannot see the ghost which torments her husband.

The gradual separation of man and wife first becomes apparent just before the murder of Banquo. No longer does he confide in her. At the play's beginning

²⁴ Cf. Knight, *The Imperial Theme*, p. 145.

²⁵ Knight, *The Wheel of Fire*, p. 163.

they plan the future together; at the end each dies alone, and when the news of her death comes to Macbeth, he shows little concern:

She should have died hereafter;
There would have been a time for such a word. (V. v. 17-18)

This theme of family disintegration is echoed, moreover, in Macduff's desertion of his wife and children to be destroyed by the tyrant whom the father flees.²⁶

It is upon the disintegration of Macbeth himself, however, that Shakespeare lavishes his principal attention. He is careful to paint his hero in the opening scenes as a man of great stature, the savior of his country, full of the "milk of human kindness", with an infinite potentiality for good. He has natural feelings which link him to his fellow men and make him view with revulsion the crime to which ambition prompts him. Once the crime is committed, however, these feelings are gradually destroyed, until at the end of the play he is a symbol of unnatural man, cut off from his fellow men and from God. As his link with humanity weakens, moreover, so also does his desire to live, until finally he sinks into a total despair, the medieval sin of *acedia*, which is the surest evidence of his damnation.

Macbeth's extraordinary powers of imagination have been amply commented upon.²⁷ Imagination itself, however, cannot be viewed as a cause of man's destruction within any meaningful moral system. Shakespeare endows Macbeth with this ability to see all of the implications of his act in their most frightening forms even before the act itself is committed as an indication of Macbeth's initial strong moral feelings. Bradley (p. 357) wisely recognized the "principle of morality which takes place in his imaginative fears". Imagination enables Macbeth emotionally to grasp the moral implications of his crime, to participate imaginatively, as does the audience, in the full horror of the deed. Macbeth is entirely aware of God's moral system with its "even-handed justice", which "commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice/ To our own lips" (I. vii. 10-12). His great soliloquy in contemplation of Duncan's murder (I. vii. 1-28) is designed to underscore Macbeth's initial feelings of kinship with the natural order.

As he prepares to commit the act he dreads, he calls for the suppression of these feelings within him. In a kind of devilish incantation he calls for darkness and the extinction of nature, conjuring the earth itself to look aside while he violates the harmonious order of which he and it are closely related parts:

Now o'er the one half world
Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse
The curtain'd sleep, witchcraft celebrates
Pale Hecate's offerings, and wither'd murder,
Alarum'd by his sentinel, the wolf,
Whose howl's his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,

²⁶ Knight, *The Wheel of Fire*, p. 159, misses the thematic import of this otherwise unexplainable event, when he calls it merely a part of the deliberate illogic with which Shakespeare infuses the play. Dover Wilson (p. xxxix) offers it as evidence merely of Shakespeare's shortening of the hypothetical longer play.

²⁷ Bradley, pp. 353-356; H. N. Paul, *The Royal Play of Macbeth* (New York, 1950), pp. 44-74; John Arthos, "The Naïve Imagination and the Destruction of Macbeth", *ELH*, XIV (1947), 114-126.

With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design
 Moves like a ghost. Thou sure and firm-set earth,
 Hear not my steps, which way they walk, for fear
 Thy very stones prate of my whereabouts,
 And take the present horror from the time,
 Which now suits with it. (II. i. 49-60)

The figure of the wolf is an appropriate one, for here Macbeth allies himself with the destroyer of the innocent lamb, symbolic of God, just as he allies himself with the ravisher Tarquin, the destroyer of chastity, symbolic in the Renaissance of the perfection of God.

That Macbeth cannot say "amen" immediately after the murder is the first clear sign of his alienation from God. He will sleep no more, for sleep is an aspect of divine mercy. Steadily Macbeth moves farther and farther from God and his fellow men, and his bond with nature is weakened. He becomes committed entirely to an unnatural course from which he cannot retreat:

For mine own good,
 All causes shall give way: I am in blood
 Stepp'd in so far that, should I wade no more,
 Returning were as tedious as go o'er. (III. iv. 135-138)

He has become the center of his own little alien world, for which "all causes shall give way". Now Macbeth is ready to seek the witches out, a commitment to evil as total as that of Marlowe's Faustus in his summoning of Mephistopheles.²⁸ And the words of the weird sisters lead him to the most horrible excess of all, the wanton murder of the family of Macduff. At the beginning of the play, evil had come to Macbeth unsought, as it does to all men; he had followed its promptings in order to attain definite ends, and not without strong misgivings. Now he seeks evil himself; he embraces it willingly and without fear, for no other end than the evil act itself.²⁹

The divided mind and the fear felt by the early Macbeth were not weakness; they were, as Muir has indicated (p. lxi), signs of his kinship with man and God. But, by the fifth act:

I have almost forgot the taste of fears:
 The time has been, my senses would have cool'd
 To hear a night-shriek; and my fell of hair
 Would at a dismal treatise rouse and stir
 As life were in't: I have supped full with horrors;
 Direness, familiar to my slaughterous thoughts,
 Cannot once start me. (V. v. 9-15)

With the loss of human fear, Macbeth must forfeit also those human attributes which make life livable: "that which should accompany old age,/ As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends" (V. iii. 24-25). There is nothing left for him but the utter despair of his "To-morrow and to-morrow" speech (V. v. 19-28).

²⁸ See Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 345.

²⁹ This total devotion to evil is, for Wilson Knight (*The Wheel of Fire*, p. 171), a sign of Macbeth's final victory, for it brings an end to his divided mind. Knight, of course, denies that there are ethical implications in the play, but in such an artistic vision which ultimately negates the difference between good and evil and sets its seal simply upon a total commitment to either the one or the other, there is an inevitable ethic which is diabolic in its implications.

Even with this unwillingness to live, which is in itself a denial of the mercy of God (as the medieval mind conceived of *acedia*), Shakespeare will not allow to Macbeth the heroic gesture of suicide which he grants to Brutus and Othello. Macbeth will not "play the Roman fool" (V. viii. 1). His spiritual destruction must be reflected in an ignominious physical destruction, and thus the play ends with the gruesome spectacle of the murderer's head held aloft in triumph.

Brents Stirling³⁰ has called the principle themes of *Macbeth* "darkness, sleep, raptness and contradiction". That these motifs run through the imagery of the play is certain, as do the colors red and black and the names of animals and birds. Too much of recent criticism has been devoted to the isolation of specific poetic themes, with inadequate attention to the governing idea which molds these themes, along with character and plot, into a coherent meaningful whole. I have attempted to show that in *Macbeth* all of the elements of the plays are governed by an intellectual purpose, a specific statement about the nature of evil and its manner of operation in the world. This statement is carried primarily in action, to which all other elements of the play are subsidiary. The action of *Macbeth* is cast into a meaningful pattern centering about the hero, and the roles of characters are governed not so much by the requirements of psychological consistency as by specific symbolic functions. Hereward T. Price has very aptly written that:

Shakespeare's work is a strict intellectual construction developed from point to point until he brings us to the necessary and inevitable conclusion. He interrelates part to part, as well as every part to the whole. His inner idea is manifested in action, with which it is intimately fused, so that the crisis in the actions which move us most deeply reveal at the same time most clearly the inner core of Shakespeare's thought.³¹

If we are to isolate a dominant theme in the play, it must be one of idea: that through the working out of evil in a harmonious world order good must emerge. This idea is embodied in specific action and specific character, and thus by imaginative exploration the dramatist is able to illuminate it more fully than any prose statement ever could. Great tragedy involves a tension between emotion and intellect. The horrors of the action move our emotions as the play progresses, but when the last curtain has fallen and we can reflect upon *Macbeth* in its totality, we see that although one man has been damned, there is an order and meaning in the universe, that good may be reborn out of evil. We may thus experience that feeling of reconciliation which is the ultimate test of tragedy.

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³⁰ *Unity in Shakespearean Tragedy* (New York, 1956), pp. 139-156.

³¹ *Construction in Shakespeare* (Ann Arbor, 1951), pp. 16-17.

Music, and the Songs in *The Winter's Tale*

J. H. P. PAFFORD



ALTHOUGH music¹ is not prominent in *W.T.*² it is none the less important. Apart from singing or accompaniment to singing there are only two specific references to music (IV. iv. 165 and V. iii. 98) and the second of these is one of the only two occasions on which the word "music" is used. Music is required for the shepherds' dance at IV. iv. 165 and again briefly for Hermione's coming to life at V. iii. 98,³ but it is sensed as having been in the background at the pronouncement of the Oracle (III. i. 6-8); the singing voice is of great importance in IV. iii and the first part of IV. iv, and presumably there was music for the satyrs' dance at IV. iv. 341. There is music in the verse, in the life and in the whole spirit of the first part of IV. iv, the music of the madrigal. The great period for the wonderful output of Elizabethan madrigals is roughly from 1588 to 1614 and something of the spirit of the first half of this scene in *W.T.* may be sensed from them.⁴ Autolycus, the Clown, Dorcas and Mopsa are all singers and it is the singing voice in this part of the play which is the chief musical element in *W.T.*

Incidental reference is made to musical instruments but not to their use,⁵ but some songs are given, there is much talk of songs and ballads, and there are dances and reference to music for one of them. Indeed, the passage IV. iv. 181-200 is described by E. W. Naylor as one which "contains a large quantity of the his-

¹ I am indebted to Dr. N. Fortune for checking this article and for transcribing passages of music, and to Dr. J. P. Cutts for letting me see, before publication, some of his material mentioned below.

² The subject has not yet received special treatment although there is valuable information in the writings of Chappell, Naylor, Bridge, Noble, Cutts and Nosworthy which are cited below. Much of the literature on music in Shakespeare makes only passing reference to *W.T.* Music is not mentioned in most editions of the play, although the Furness Variorum ed. of 1898, pp. 387-389, has a useful note on the songs. References in this article to *W.T.* are to the Arden ed. of F. W. Moorman (1933).

³ There may be an underlying idea that music has the power of restoring the dead to life, both here and in the awakening of Thaisa from her trance in *Per.* (III. ii. 88-93). (Cf. G. H. Cowling: *Music on the Shakespearean stage* (1913), pp. 72-73.)

⁴ E. H. Fellowes: *English Madrigal verse* (1920), p. xiii. Cf. also his *English Madrigal Composers* (2nd ed., 1948).

⁵ Leontes speaks of Hermione "still virginall upon his palm" (I. ii. 125), hornpipes are mentioned at IV. iii. 45 and tabor, pipe and bagpipe at IV. iv. 182-183.

tory of songs in the 16th century, and is one of the most important to be found in Shakespeare".⁶

There are six songs; five of them Autolycus sings alone and in one he leads in a trio. *The New Shakespeare Society Transactions* (London, 1877-1879, Part 1, p. 108) noted that Shakespeare probably used *The Pedlar* (by Robert Wilson), 1595, in writing *W.T.* IV. iv. 181-323. They are:

1. When daffodils begin to peer (IV. iii. 1-12).⁷
2. But shall I go mourn for that, my dear. (IV. iii. 15-22).
3. Jog on, jog on, the foot-path way (IV. iii. 120-123).
4. Lawn as white as driven snow (IV. iv. 218).
5. Get you hence for I must go (IV. iv. 297-308)
(to the tune of "Two maids wooing a man").⁸
6. Will you buy any tape (IV. iv. 315-323).

None of these is recorded in Rimbault's index to the song books of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods⁹ but at least two were known in the 17th century. *A list of all the songs . . . in Shakespeare which have been set to music*¹⁰ gives names of composers of music, of which the earliest for *W.T.* songs are:

When daffodils. Dr. William Boyce, about 1759. [In W. Linley's *Dramatic Songs of Shakespeare* (1816)] and J. Caulfield: *Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespeare's Plays*, Vol. II. (1864).

But shall I go mourn. J. F. Lampe, 1748, [?1745]. British Museum, G.306, piece 251 (single sheet folio). Anon. Caulfield, Vol. II.

Jog on. Anon. In the *Dancing Master* (1650). Anon. In Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book,¹¹ called "Hanskin".

Lawn as white. Dr. Wilson, 1660.

Get you hence. Dr. William Boyce, about 1759 [in Linley].

Will you buy any tape. Dr. Boyce, about 1769 [in Linley].

Other references to music, songs and ballads are:

IV. iii. 2, 6, 10. A possible reference to the dance "The Hay" and its tune.

IV. iii. 42. The Clown remarks that the shearers are "three-man song-men all, and very good ones".

IV. iv. 58. The Shepherd rebukes Perdita's shyness and says that when his old wife lived she "would sing her song and dance her turn".

IV. iv. 181-200. Naylor's comment on this passage has already been noted. It refers to ballads with burdens of "dildos and fadings", "jump her and

⁶ *Shakespeare and Music* (new edition, 1931), p. 77. This book is a valuable source of information on the music of *W.T.*

⁷ It may be worth noting here that the seventh line of this song is given in F1, "Doth set my pugging tooth an edge". Most editors have "emended" *an* to *on* since the phrase "to set on edge" is better known to those who do not use sharp tools than "to set an edge". But F1 is right and the common "emendation" wrong, giving in fact a sense quite contrary to that which is intended, which is "Doth sharpen my thieving tooth", "Whets my appetite for thievery".

⁸ No tune or ballad with this title has been traced and there is no evidence to connect it with the early music for *Get you hence* mentioned below (pp. 163 ff.). The note to P. 286 on p. 173 of the New Cambridge ed. of *W.T.* by Quiller Couch is apparently incorrect. A. T. Roffe: *Handbook of Shakespeare Music* (1878), p. 104, merely says that "Of this trio . . . I know of no setting but that . . . attributed . . . to Dr. Boyce". He does not mention the title in that work or in *A Musical Triad* (1872).

⁹ E. F. Rimbault: *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana* (1847).

¹⁰ New Shakespeare Soc. (Lond., 1884).

¹¹ I.e. the Fitzwilliam (or Tregian's) Virginal Book (see p. 11 n. 1).

thump her"¹² and gives a line from a ballad "Whoop, do me no harm, good man",¹³

- IV. iv. 258-323 is entirely concerned with Autolycus and the ballads he has for sale. Those of "a usurer's wife" and "of a fish, that appeared upon the coast" are obviously burlesques of the contemporary broadside, chap-book ballads and tales of monstrosities and the ultra-sensational. He then produces "Get you hence", which he sings, with Mopsa and Dorcas, and it is in this passage that Autolycus says that he is a singer by profession (295). After the song (or the first part of it) is sung, the Clown says "We'll have this song out anon by ourselves"; obviously meaning Mopsa, Dorcas and himself.
- IV. iv. 594-617. Autolycus refers to his success at the sheep-shearing in selling all his ballads and by attracting the crowd by his singing so that he had been able to pick most of their pockets.

With regard to "three-man song-men" (IV. iii. 42) it may be noted that *Get you hence* is a song in three parts. Naylor, who considers that the term "Freeman" songs is a corruption of "Three-man" songs, prints a specimen.¹⁴ The ballads are always spoken of as having tunes and being sung except at V. ii. 24 where it is merely said that the fulfillment of the Oracle and discovery or Perdita is such a wonder that even the "ballad-makers cannot be able to express it". All the singing is confined to the short IV. iii and to the first 323 lines of IV. iv: it all comes within some 450 consecutive lines at the beginning of the second part of a play of 3074 lines. It is possible to meet with comments on the play such as "There is no music in the first half but the second half is entirely musical".¹⁵ The second half is far from being entirely musical. More than half of it contains no music or reference to music and nothing of the spirit of music more than is to be found in the first part of the play; and those passages where music does occur are far from being dominated by it. It would not be true to say that the music is incidental. It is integral to the play^{16a}; but the spirit of music derives not so much from the songs and dances themselves and from the music in the one other place where it is specifically required

¹² In *Choice Drollery* (1656), p. 31, a ballad has the refrain "With a dildo, dildo, dee". See also *Bagford Ballads*, II, 551, and J. P. Collier: *A Book of Roxburghe Ballads* (1847), p. 249. "Fading" was the name of a contemporary jig, since in *Kt. of Burn. Pestle* III. v. 138 Mistress Merrythought says, "I will have him dance fading.—Fading is a fine jig". In *Catch that catch can* or *The Musical Companion* (1667), p. 78, is a round "The courtier scorns the country clowns" with refrain "With a Fading, Fading, Fading &c." This is ascribed to Mr. White (?Matthew White, fl. 1610) who wrote the other round on p. 78 "Wilt please you, sir, to see any sport", which refers to taking purses by sleight of hand. Cf. W. Chappell: *Popular Music* [1855] I, 234-236, and H. Rollins: *Pepys Ballads*, II, 151 and III, 162. "The courtier scorns" is reprinted in Rimbault and Metcalfe: *Rounds, catches and canons* [?1871], p. 28, where it is ascribed to Matthew White. On p. 54 of *Catch that catch can* (p. 73 of Hilton's ed. of 1658) is a round "Come jump at thy Cousen" with refrain "What jumping, jumping; jumping, jumping call you this". The tune of "Come, jump at thy Cousin" but to the words of "Come, merry men, follow" is in Rimbault and Metcalfe [?1871], p. 25.

¹³ See below p. 173.

¹⁴ *Shakespeare and Music*, pp. 192-193, and L. E. Elson: *Shakespeare in Music* (1901), pp. 195-198.

¹⁵ R. W. Ingram: *Dramatic Use of Music in English Drama, 1603-1642* (Univ. of London Ph.D. Thesis, 1955 [unpublished]), pp. 149-150.

^{16a} In "Music and its Function in Shakespeare's Romances" (*Shakespeare Survey* 11, pp. 60-69, especially 67), J. M. Nosworthy considers that the music, although slight, is organic in the play and symbolic of regeneration.

as from the gaiety and rhythm of the first part of IV. iv, from the solemnity and rhythm of such passages as the dream of Antigonus, the description of the oracle and the recovery of Hermione, and from the power and beauty of the language.

The singing contributes much to the spirit of the sheep-shearing part of the play and something to the character of Autolycus—it softens his vices and makes him a more attractive character, but it is doubtful if this is so important as Richmond Noble holds in his valuable book on Shakespeare's songs.¹⁶ The character of Autolycus is so well expressed that it comes to life completely even on reading the play. Of course the unheard melodies have their effect, but Autolycus establishes himself so quickly and completely that he would still be there as a vital person without the songs. Without them he would certainly lose something but he would not, as Noble thinks, become of no more prominence than Pompey in *M. for M.* Although Autolycus twice uses the first part of Pompey's one immortal line¹⁷ without achieving the triumph of the whole, he would remain, even without the songs, a fuller and brighter, a more vital and memorable character than Pompey.

The earliest known music which may perhaps be associated with the dances in *W.T.* was first brought to light by W. J. Lawrence,¹⁸ who showed that the British Museum Add.MS.10,444 on ff. 31a and 82b (no. 56 in each part of the MS.) contains music which may have been used for the satyrs' dance in Jonson's *Oberon* given on 1 Jan. 1611: if so it might well also have been used for the satyrs' dance in early performances of *W.T.* The manuscript was given closer study by J. P. Cutts.¹⁹ That this music, entitled *The Satyres Masque*, was composed by Robert Johnson is proved by the fact that it is printed, without title, but under Johnson's name, in Thomas Simpson's rare work entitled *Taffel Consort* (Hamburg, 1621). Cutts considers that the MS. version is earlier than 1621 and may be contemporary with the first production of *Oberon*. In a further study²⁰ Cutts prints this music—the simple Treble and Bass from the B.M. MS.—which is also given below from the MS. E. J. Dent, not knowing of its connection with *Oberon* and *W.T.*, used this piece from MS.Add.10,444 for a performance of Milton's *Comus* at Christ's College, Cambridge. His version is printed in *C.C. Magazine*.²¹ On ff. 34b and 85b in MS.10,444 (no. 66 in each part of the MS.) is a tune entitled *The Shepheards Masque*, and Cutts suggests²² that this may have been the music for the shepherds' dance in *W.T.* This is pure conjecture but the music is certainly a more or less contemporary shepherds' dance and is printed below.

Cutts has also published an early version of the song "Get you hence"²³ which is in two manuscripts in the Drexel collection in the New York Public

¹⁶ *Shakespeare's Use of Song* (1923).

¹⁷ "Truly Sir, I am a poor fellow that would live" (*Meas.* II. i. 234).

¹⁸ "Notes on a collection of masque music" (*Music and Letters*, Jan. 1922, 49-58).

¹⁹ "Jacobean Masque and Stage Music" (*Music and Letters*, July, 1954, 185-200) and "Robert Johnson: King's Musician" (*ibid.*, April 1955, 110-125). A book by J. P. Cutts entitled *La Musique de Scène de la Troupe de Shakespeare* was announced (in 1957) for publication.

²⁰ "Le rôle de la musique dans les masques de Ben Jonson et notamment dans *Oberon*" (*J. Jacquot: Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, 1956, pp. 285-303).

²¹ XXIII, No. 68 (*Mich. Term.* 1908), 67-68.

²² *Music and Letters* (July, 1954), p. 197.

²³ *Shakespeare Survey* 9 (1956), pp. 86-89 and Plate V, and *N & Q*, n.s., VI (March 1959), 104-106.

Library. The first is in MS.Dx.4175, numbered LIX on f. 23²⁴, and Cutts believes that the music is by Robert Johnson since there are other pieces by Johnson near to it in the MS. which can itself be dated at about 1620. The other version is in MS.Dx.4041 on ff. 127-129,²⁵ which is dated at c. 1640. This is of particular interest in that it gives a second verse. When the Clown says "We'll have this song out anon by ourselves" (IV. iv. 309) he perhaps implies that there is more of it to be sung. The music and words from Dx. 4175 are printed and shown in facsimile by Cutts, who also gives the words of the second verse from Dx.4041. The musical setting in Dx.4041 is imperfect: that for the first stanza is intrinsically the same as that in Dx.4175 but in a different key. The music of the second stanza is different but only a few bars are given in the MS. The verbal text for the remaining three stanzas, also taken from the manuscript,²⁶ is:

- if thou goest to grange or mill
 10 if to either thou doest ill
 neither
 what neither
 neither
 thou hast sworne my loue to bee
 thou hast sworne itt more to mee
 then whether whether goest thou whether
 never more forr lasses sake
 will I dance at fare or wake
 Ah mee
 20 A Ah me
 Ah mee
 who shall then were a raced shooe
 or what shall y^e bagpipe doe
 recant or elce you slay mee
 25 if thou leaue our Andorne greene
 where shall fill or frize be seene
 sleeping
 what sleeping
 sleeping
 30 no lle warrant the sitting sadly
 or Idely walking madly
 in some darke darke Corner weeping

²⁴ The folios are apparently not numbered and this reference is estimated from a microfilm.

²⁵ Note as to 24.

²⁶ L. 16 Written three times, for three voices.

16 *whether*] this is also the spelling of "whither" in the F1 version of the song.

19 *A*] Doubtful. Apparently two musical flat signs placed back to back. Perhaps *O*.

22 *were*] wear

raced] The *c* is rather more like *s*. If read as *rated* the sense may be *valued*, *valuable*, *fine*, but even if the spelling is *rated* it is almost certainly a copyist's error for *raced*. A "raced shoe" is a fancy shoe, a shoe cut or slashed in an ornamental fashion (*N.E.D.*, *race* v3,1b). Cf. "two Provincial roses on my razed shoes", *Ham.* III. ii. 271.

24 This line is repeated.

25 *Andorne*] Perhaps a copying error for *Arboure*

26 *fill or frize*] Cutts suggests that these are countrywomen's names, Fill (Phill) being short for Phillida, Phillis, and Frize occurring in Fletcher's *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

31 After this are the words *in some darke*. They are at the foot of the page where they are repeated as catchwords and may be only a false beginning of line 32. That line is written twice but the second writing may only be for a second voice.

A piece of music associated with the play and certainly dateable not later than 1610 is that of the song "Whoop do me no harm good man" to which only incidental reference is made (IV. iv. 199). This was published in 1610 by William Corkine²⁷ where it is included among "Lessons for the Lyra Viall" and no words are given except "Whoop doe me no harme goodman". This version, which is of variations on the tune, has apparently never been reprinted and the opening bars are reproduced below in modern notation since, although the music is not part of the play, it contains a tune which would certainly have come to the minds of many of the first audiences when the words were spoken. Another early version is that which is reprinted by Sir Frederick Bridge²⁸ with the words of a ballad entitled "Johnny and Jinny" from *Westminster Drollery* (1672). According to Naylor several ballads printed in the latter part of the 16th (?17th) century go to a tune of this name, of which he prints the air,²⁹ no doubt taking it from Chappell, who prints it and says that it was transcribed by Rimbault from a MS. volume of virginal music.³⁰ It is reprinted by Sir Frederick Bridge³¹ and by J. M. Gibbon.³² The words used by Bridge and Gibbon are similar but different from those in *Westminster Drollery*, 1672, from which they are said to be taken.³³ They are apparently only an elaboration of the first of the nine

²⁷ Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl, fo. 11b [sig F^r and F2^r]. Because there are no words, this is not included in the edition of Corkine's *First Book of Ayres* by E. H. Fellowes (*The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*. Second series [?1926]), which reprints only the songs.

²⁸ *Shakespearean Music* (1923). Facsimile on p. 22 and a modern version, in a different key, on p. 80. The MS. is m.832 Vu 51, pp. 14-15, in the Henry Watson Music Library in the Manchester Public Libraries and is dated 1650 or rather earlier.

²⁹ *Shakespeare and Music*, p. 184. Three ballads in the Pepysian collection, of which the earliest dates from about 1625, were sung to this tune (H. E. Rollins: *A Pepysian Garland*, 1922). J. G. McManaway brings to my notice that there is an entry in the Stationers' Register for 9 Dec. 1615 (III, 579) for this ballad, entitled "Jockey and Jenney" (Rollins: *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-entries*, 1924, p. 112, item 1291).

³⁰ *Popular Music*, I, 208; II, 774. Cf. H. Rollins: *Pepys Ballads*, I, 200, 207, 243. A tune with this title is mentioned in the prose romance *The Famous Historie of Friar Bacon* (Thoms: *Early English Prose Romances*, 1850, I, 224), and Secco sings "Whoop do me no harm good woman" in Ford's play *The Fancies Chaste and Noble* III. iii. 81. Chappell (I, 208) says that there is "a song with this burden" in *Pieces of Ancient Poetry* (ed. by N.Y. [i.e. John Fry], Bristol, 1814). That work does not, however, contain a song with "Whoopel doe me noe harme, good man" as a burden but only one said to be to the tune of that name (pp. 21-23). Fry gives no music, but the following stanza (the seventh out of ten) shows the metre:

There was a younge Lord
Yt assumed, on his word,
To be a Parlement-maker;
But see how things alter!
He assumed a halter;
O there was a fine undertaker!

The poem is on the Overbury murder.

³¹ *Seventeenth Century Songs*.

³² *Melody and the Lyric*, 1930, p. 104.

³³

The sweet pretty Jinny sat on a hill
Where Johnny the swain her see;
He tun'd his quill and sang to her still,
Whoop! Jinny come down to me.
But she sang, but she sang, but she sang to him,
O do no harm to me;
So there on the hill
She sang to him still,

stanzas of the latter. The connection of the *Johnny and Jenny* ballad with the *Whoop do me no harme* tune is, however, not clearly established. Bridge added the tune's title to the first stanza of the *Westminster Drollery* version of the ballad, apparently without authority. All that Chappell says is that the ballad "seems to have been intended for the tune".

Seventeenth-century music also exists for the two songs "Jog on" and "Lawn as white as driven snow", of which that for "Jog on" is apparently the earlier. This is found in the *Fitzwilliam* (or Tregian's) *Virginal Book*,⁸⁴ where in the 1899 edition, it is entitled *Hanskin* and is number 297 on pp. 494-500 of Vol. II, being the last piece in the book. It is by Richard Farnaby and consists of variations on the tune of *Hanskin*.⁸⁵ The first few bars are given below. The first part of the tune is found in John Playford's *The (English) Dancing Master* (1651 and later editions)⁸⁶ and the words, with two additional stanzas and the tune are in *Catch that catch can* or *The musical companion* (1667), p. 85. The words are also found in *The Antidote against Melancholy*, 1661⁸⁷ (reprinted by J. Payne Collier [?1870], p. 91 and by Chappell). The tune, also apparently known as "Sir Francis Drake" or "Eighty-eight", was used for a ballad on the Armada beginning "In eighty-eight ere I was born" or "Some years of late, in eighty-eight" which was printed several times in the second half of the 17th century⁸⁸ and exists in a manuscript which may be earlier than 1650. The verses have some stylistic resemblance to "Jog-on".⁸⁹ The first stanza and air of this

Whoop, do me no harm, good man!
(Bridge and Gibbon)

The pretty sweet Jinny sate on a Hill,
Where Jonny the swain her see;
He tun'd his quill, and sung to her still,
Whoop Jinny come down to me.

(*Drolleries* (1672), ed. Ebsworth, 1875, pp. 72-73. This is the first of nine stanzas.)

⁸⁴ Ed. by J. A. Fuller-Maitland and W. Barclay Squire, 2 vols., 1899. See also E. W. Naylor: *An Elizabethan Virginal Book* (1905). The book was referred to by several writers, including Chappell, as Queen Elizabeth's *Virginal Book*, but it was apparently written by Francis Tregian between 1609 and 1619 (*Music and Letters*, July 1951, p. 206; Jan. 1952, pp. 28-32; April 1952, p. 192).

⁸⁵ See Naylor: *Elizabethan Virginal Book* (1905), p. 206.

⁸⁶ In the reprint of the 1651 ed. by Margaret Dean-Smith (1957), the tune *Jog on* (there are no words) is on p. 45. There is another version called *Halfe Hannekin* on p. 37.

⁸⁷ Stanza 1 is substantially as in *W.T.* Stanzas 2 and 3 are:

Your paltry mony bags of gold,
What need have we to stare for,
When little or nothing soon is told,
And we have the less to care for.
Cast care away, let sorrow cease,
A fig for melancholly,
Let's laugh and sing, or, if you please,
We'll frolic with sweet Dolly.

⁸⁸ Cf. Chappell: *Popular Music* [1855], I, 211-213, and *Old English Popular Music* (1893), I, 159-160, and *Westminster Drolleries* (1670, 1672), ed. by J. W. Ebsworth (1875), Pt. I, p. 93; Append. xxxviii. The words are in C. Stone, *Sea Songs and Ballads* (1906), p. 81. Chappell's tune is an expansion of "Jog on" on p. 45 of Playford's *English Dancing Master* (1651; or some later edition of that work).

⁸⁹ E.g.,

Our Queene was then att Tilbury
What could yo^r more desire=a
ffor whose sweete sake S^r ffancis Drake
Did sett them all on fyre=a.
(B. M. Harl. MS. 791, fo. 59.)

tune are also given by Naylor⁴⁰ and, less accurately, by Gibbon.⁴¹ References to various "Jog-on" tunes are given by Evelyn K. Wells.⁴²

"Lawn as white" was set to music by John Wilson, Doctor and Professor of Music at Oxford. It was printed in 1659 but may have been composed much earlier.⁴³ Wilson also composed settings for "Take, o take those lips away" and "Where the bee sucks". It has been claimed, but never proved, that Wilson was the boy Jack Willson who sang "Sigh no more, ladies" in *Much Ado*. But while this is doubtful,⁴⁴ Wilson, born in 1585 or 1595, was composing long before 1659 and could well have composed the setting—which is reproduced below—in 1611.⁴⁵ The tune printed in 1659 may be a later version but in any case it is certainly an early setting.

The round by John Jenkins (1592-1678) entitled "Come pretty maidens" has echoes of both "Lawn as white" and of "Will you buy any tape". It was printed—both words and music—at least as early as 1652.⁴⁶ It is reproduced below from the 1652 version.

The eighteenth-century settings, chiefly those of Dr. William Boyce, were apparently first published in a collection by William Linley⁴⁷ and later included in another by John Caulfield.⁴⁸ Boyce may have composed in the mid-eighteenth century the three tunes ascribed to him by Linley or he may only have adapted earlier tunes. But since the play had not been on the stage for a hundred years or so until just before Boyce's compositions it is unlikely that any tunes he may have adapted can have had long association with the words. Germaine Bontoux⁴⁹ almost certainly copied her versions of the tunes from the 1922-5 reprint of Caulfield but she does not give her sources. She apparently considers

⁴⁰ *Shakespeare and Music*, p. 185. Reprinted in *Var.*, p. 387.

⁴¹ *Melody and the Lyric*, p. 104.

⁴² *J. of Eng. Folk Dance and Song. Soc.*, III, No. 4 (Dec. 1939), 263, 277.

⁴³ *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads* (Oxford, 1660 [for 1659]). "Lawn as white" is on pp. 64-66. Words and music are reprinted in *Var.*, pp. 388-389, in *Fifty Shakespeare Songs*, ed. by C. Vincent (1906), pp. 30-31, and in Gibbon: *Melody and the Lyric*, p. 121.

⁴⁴ *Much Ado* was apparently performed in the winter of 1598-9. At fourteen John Wilson might certainly have sung on the stage and have acted as Balthazar although he could hardly have sung and certainly could not have acted at four. But Jack Wilson's name is only in the F1 text of *Much Ado*, probably printed from a quarto of 1600 which had been used as a prompt book; so that Jack Wilson could have come in when much more even than fourteen and could well be the John Wilson born in 1585 or 1595. Cf. also *N & Q*, n.s., VI (March, 1959), 104-106.

⁴⁵ See T. W. Baldwin's *Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearian Company* (1927), pp. 420-421. There is no reason to agree with E. J. Dent in "Shakespeare and Music" (*Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, ed. H. Granville Barker and G. B. Harrison, 1949, p. 112) that Wilson's setting must be "considerably later" than 1611.

⁴⁶ John Hilton: *Catch that catch can, or a choice collection of catches, rounds, etc.* (1652), p. 87, and Rimbault and Metcalfe: *Rounds Catches and Canons* [?1871], p. 49. This is an exact reprint except that the word *perfume* is *perfumes* in Hilton.

⁴⁷ *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs*, 2 vol. fol. [1814], pp. 22, 24-26 ("When daffodils"—Boyce), pp. 27-28 ("Lawn"—Linley), p. 29 ("Will you buy"—Boyce), pp. 30-33 ("Get you hence"—Boyce).

⁴⁸ *A Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespeare's Plays*, French (1864; 20 parts bound in two vols.); ("When daffodils" and "Get you hence" are Boyce as in Linley. "Will you buy" is Boyce altered, but "Lawn" is a different anonymous tune, not Wilson, and "But shall I go mourn" is anonymous). Reprinted by Messrs. French in 1922-5 under title *The Vocal Music to Shakespeare's Plays*. Caulfield is not mentioned, but the collection was apparently revised and supplemented by E. R. Newton.

⁴⁹ *La chanson en Angleterre au Temps d'Elizabeth* (1936), pp. 316-318; 353-356.

that the anonymous air for "Lawn as white" is preferable to Wilson's but it is difficult to find authority for her comments on the history of the tunes. It is, however, probable that Boyce's tunes have been used for some of the songs since the middle of the eighteenth century.

Some other modern settings for "When daffodils", "Jog on" and "Will you buy" are cited by A. H. Moncur-Sime⁵⁰ but no music is given, and W. B. Windt has composed settings for "When daffodils" and "Will you buy".⁵¹

Noble has pointed out that the songs are in the latest manner of Shakespeare's songs and are themselves evidence of the period in which the play was written.⁵² George Rylands notes⁵³ that the secret of Shakespeare's success in his songs lies in "a fusion of the natural with the artificial". But there is perhaps less evidence in the songs of *W.T.* of the grafting science preached by Polixenes: these have more in them of the traditional and unaffected singing "of tavern and field" and less of "delicate artifice and charming affectation" found in some of the earlier songs. But they have something of both in them. S. L. Bethell considers that "When daffodils" "is *not* an Elizabethan 'nature' lyric but a product of Jacobean wit which incidentally parodies the Elizabethan simplicities".⁵⁴ Whether this is so or not, it can be agreed that the song is not simple pastoral. It could hardly be: it is in character with its singer and he is neither simple nor pastoral. Like its singer the song has roguery in it. Shakespeare may have made some use of contemporary songs, particularly in *Jog on*, *Lawn as white*, *Get you hence*, and *Will you buy*, but whether the songs are entirely original or not they all do indeed help to "localize or enrich the scene, or depict a character":⁵⁵ they have a marked realism—as have all the pedlar, conyskin songs which were so popular⁵⁶ and, as is noted by B. Pattison,⁵⁷ they help to give realism to the play.

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⁵⁰ *Shakespeare, his Music and Song* [?1917], p. 195.

⁵¹ *Ashland Studies in Shakespeare* (1956), p. 55.

⁵² *Shakespeare's Use of Song* (1923), p. 151.

⁵³ "Shakespeare the Poet" (in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, p. 112).

⁵⁴ *W.T.*, ed. Bethell, p. 201.

⁵⁵ J. R. Moore: "The function of the Songs in Shakespeare's Plays" in *Shakespeare Studies by Members of the Department of English of the University of Wisconsin* (1916), pp. 78-102. (The article makes only one brief reference to *W.T.*)

⁵⁶ Cf. *The Pedlar's Prophesie* (1595), by Robert Wilson, and Gerrard's song in Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush* III. i. 101-108 (not earlier than 1615).

⁵⁷ "Music and masque", in *Shakespeare: Works*, ed. C. J. Sisson, [1954], p. lii. [By a slip on p. li Pattison says that Jack Wilson is mentioned in the 1600 text of *Much Ado*. This is not so: Wilson's name occurs only in Fr. See above p. 168, n.44.]

The Satyrs' Masque

(B.M. Add.Ms. 30466. ff31a + 82b)

The musical score is written on ten staves, organized into five systems of two staves each. The notation is in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. There are several time signature changes indicated by 'x' and '3' symbols above the staves. The score is marked with a '+' at the beginning of the first staff and a '3' at the end of the last staff. There are also some 'x' and '3' symbols above the staves, likely indicating time signature changes.

† Original time-signature 4

n No dot in source

x Original time-signature 3

3 Original time-signature 3

* Original time-signature ♪ □ Minim & semibreve respectively in source
 ✎ Original time-signature 3

The Shepherds' Masque

(B.M. Add.Ms.10444. ff34b & 35b)

The musical score is written for two staves (treble and bass clef) and consists of six systems of music. The first system begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a time signature of 4/4. A small '+' symbol is placed above the first measure of the treble staff. The subsequent systems are separated by double bar lines. The sixth system ends with a double bar line and a final cadence. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests and accidentals.

† Original time-signature 4

× Original time-signature 3

Whoop, do me no harm

William Corkine

For lyra-viol

(Ayres ... to the lute and bass viol, etc., 1610, f. 11b)



Hanskin [Jog on]

Richard Farnaby

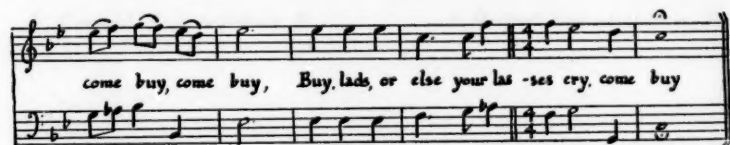
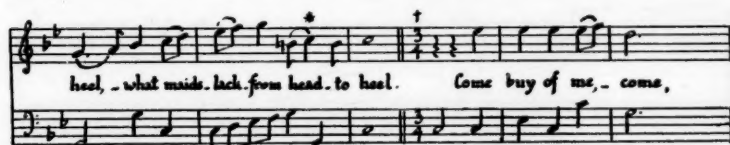
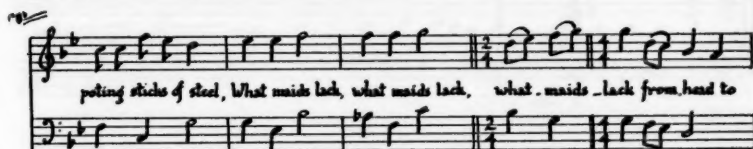
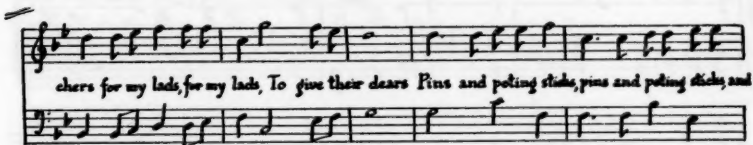
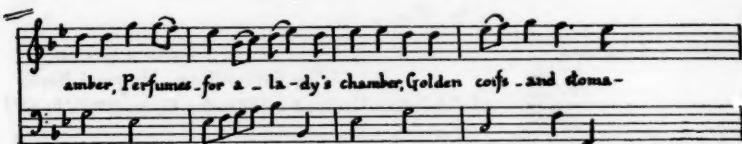
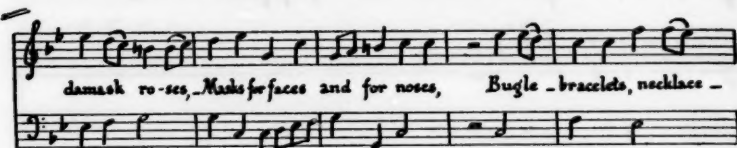
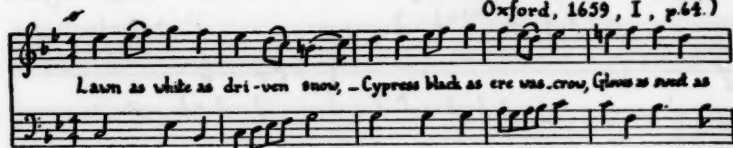
(The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book,

ed. J.A. Fuller Maitland & W. Barclay Squire, 1879, Vol. II, p. 194)



Lawn as white

John Wilson

(Cheerfull ayres or ballads,
Oxford, 1659, I, p. 64.)

♫ No time-signature in original

* ♪ in original

+ Note-values halved; original time-signature 3

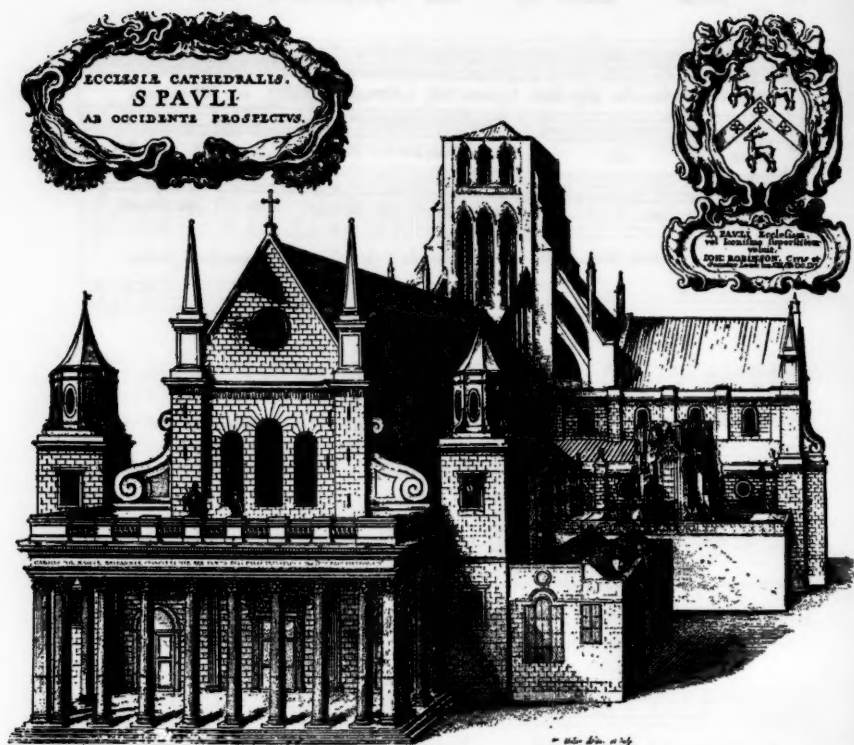
No. 135.—ROUND.

Come, pretty maidens.

John Jenkins.

Come, pret-ty mai - dens, what is't you buy? See, what is't you lack? If you can
 Here be la - ces and masks for your fa - ces, Co - ral, jet, and am-ber; Gloves made of
 chamber. Come and buy, come, buy for your lov - ing ho-mey,

find a toy to your mind, be so kind, View the ped - lar's pack.
 thread, and toys for your head, And rich per - fume for a la - - - dy's
 Some pret-ty toy to please the boy, I'll sell it you worth your mo-ney.



Old St. Paul's Cathedral, viewed from the west. From the engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1656. See p. 256.

Comus and The Tempest

JOHN M. MAJOR



IN *Comus*, Tillyard suggests, Milton was not simply writing another masque, like *Arcades*, but was conducting an experiment in actual drama.¹ Such an experiment would quite naturally have led him once more through the plays of his great predecessor, Shakespeare, to whose genius he had already paid tribute in the lines which were prefixed to the second folio of Shakespeare's works in 1632. The influence of Shakespeare, both in language and in matters of dramatic technique, can be traced in most or all of Milton's poems in English; among the minor poems, *Comus* unquestionably contains the largest number of reminiscences.² Similarities in phrasing have been noted between *Comus* and some fifteen of Shakespeare's plays, while to three of the plays—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *The Tempest*—Milton is indebted to a rather considerable degree for the form and substance of his poem.³ Of the three plays, *The Tempest*, it seems to me, is much the closest to *Comus* in form, in theme, in dramatic situation, in characterization, and, above all, in atmosphere and language.⁴ Indeed, *The Tempest* touches *Comus* at so many points that it would seem to deserve being recognized as one of the principal "sources" for Milton's poem.⁵

Although due attention has been given to verbal echoes of *The Tempest* in *Comus* (see footnote 3), so far as I know only one critic—Frank Kermode, editor of the new Arden Shakespeare *Tempest*—has realized how deeply Milton was indebted to the play. And even Kermode has offered only a suggestive comment or two; one of these comments, tucked away in a footnote, is that *The Tempest* "is almost as important to Milton [in *Comus*] as *The Faerie Queene*".⁶

The first indication that Milton had *The Tempest* in mind when writing

¹ E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton* (London, 1949), pp. 66-74.

² Alwin Thaler, *Shakespeare's Silences* (Harvard University Press, 1929), p. 205, n. 1.

³ The most thorough account of Milton's debt to Shakespeare is in Thaler, *Shakespeare's Silences*, pp. 139-208. Other studies in which the problem is considered are: George Coffin Taylor, "Shakespeare and Milton Again", *SP*, XXIII (1926), 189-199; Ethel Seaton, "Comus and Shakespeare", *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XXXI (1945), 68-80; and Alwin Thaler, "Shakespeare and Milton Once More", *SAMLA Studies in Milton* (University of Florida Press, 1953), pp. 80-99.

⁴ Ethel Seaton ("Comus and Shakespeare", p. 68) acknowledges Milton's debt in *Comus* to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*, but holds that the play with which he "betrays by echoes of diction and imagery the deepest preoccupation is *Romeo and Juliet*". This view is pretty much refuted, it seems to me, by the evidence compiled by Thaler and Taylor.

⁵ The sources most commonly mentioned are *The Faerie Queene*, Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, the *Comus* of Erycius Puteanus, Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, and Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*. (See James Holly Hanford, *A Milton Handbook* [New York, 1944], pp. 160-165.) Other suggested sources are Italian musical dramas of the 17th century, Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, and Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*.

⁶ Frank Kermode, ed., *The Tempest*, in *The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare* (Harvard University Press, 1954), Introduction, p. xlviii, n. 3.

Comus appears in an examination of their form, which is a rather unusual cross between conventional masque and conventional drama. Dr. Johnson assumed that *Comus* was a drama (and as such judged it very harshly), and Tillyard, calling attention to the many genuinely dramatic passages in the work, sees it as Milton's "private experiment in dramatic style" (*Milton*, p. 71). Yet *Comus* is obviously not a play in the ordinary sense: the dramatic element is much of the time subordinate to the lyric and the philosophical; the action is slight and (as Dr. Johnson noted) improbable; the speeches are lengthy and declamatory; and the whole is lacking in suspense, in the development of character, and in conflict between characters.⁷

Milton himself called his poem *A Masque*, but *Comus* is not an ordinary masque any more than it is an ordinary drama. Although it employs the standard construction of the court masque—poetic induction, two anti-masques, main masque, and epilogue—it differs from the type in several important respects: there are no masquers; the dances are not central, but incidental; the essential moment is "not the solution of a riddle, not a sudden metamorphosis or revelation, but an act of free choice"; the atmosphere is of the out-of-doors, not the banquet hall; the usual tone of flattery and compliment is absent; and, finally, the moralizing is, for a masque, excessive.⁸ In the words of the editors of Ben Jonson, although *Comus* is in conception "a genuine and unmistakable Masque", "it is one in which the spirit of drama has broken free from the Masque in everything that concerns scheme and composition, while retaining a few unimportant traces of a nominal allegiance".⁹

The same peculiarity attaches to the form of *The Tempest*. In it, as in *Comus*, the lyrical element has almost supplanted the dramatic. The plot is negligible; there is hardly any action of a strictly dramatic kind; the characters (with the possible exception of Prospero) are mere sketches; and the moment of highest dramatic interest—the immediate sequel to Prospero's speech offering to Alonso and the others forgiveness—is strangely muted.¹⁰ In place of these missing dramatic qualities one finds such masque-like features as songs, dances, spirits, magic spells, and monsters, not to mention a formal masque and anti-masque. All this might suggest that *The Tempest* was actually conceived as a masque, but according to Enid Welsford, it lacks many of the elements that are essential to the masque form. On the other hand, it is, Miss Welsford believes, closer to the spirit of the masque than is *Comus* (*The Court Masque*, p. 324). The influence on *The Tempest* of the masque, as developed by Ben Jonson and

⁷ C. S. Lewis, in a study of Milton's revisions of *Comus* for the 1637 edition, comments that, besides cutting away technical terms and colloquialisms and trimming the more ebullient passages, Milton "increases the gnomic element at the expense of the dramatic". "In general", Lewis concludes, "he subdues; and he does so in the interests of unity in tone". (C. S. Lewis, "A Note on *Comus*", *RES*, VIII [1932], 175-176.)

⁸ Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque* (Cambridge University Press, 1927), pp. 316-319. Miss Welsford makes the interesting criticism (p. 320) that Milton "could not see that the masque, whose presiding deity was Hymen, was a most unsuitable vehicle for the unfolding of the 'sage and serious doctrine of virginity'".

⁹ C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, ed., *Ben Jonson* (Clarendon Press, 1925-52), II, 308-309. See II, 307-309, and X, 574-575, for a comparison of *Comus* and Jonson's masque, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*.

¹⁰ See V. i. 104ff. The man who is most in need of forgiveness, Antonio, has nothing at all to say. Possibly he is abashed, or it may be that he is unregenerate. Still, the whole scene is curiously flat.

Inigo Jones, may be observed in the play's sense of mystery and spaciousness; in its abundance of music, close association of music and dancing, and masque-like episodes; in the presence of the masque motifs of wandering and disenchantment; in the role of Prospero, who acts something like a "masque presenter", and who plays the part of Hymen (in masques, the spirit of order and unity); and, finally, in its sense of transitoriness and illusion, which is "one of the strongest feelings evoked by the masque" (Welsford, pp. 335-347).

The notion that *The Tempest* is a kind of adapted masque is rejected by Kermode, who sees it, and *Comus*, too, as pastoral dramas (p. xxiv). Thus it appears that the reader must decide for himself whether *Comus* and *The Tempest* are masques, masque-like dramas, pastoral dramas, or some other permutation. There does seem to be fairly general agreement, however, that the two works belong to the same genre.

Comus and *The Tempest* have certain likenesses in theme, also. In the broadest sense, both works are concerned with the opposition of virtuous men (and women) to the forces of evil, and with their ultimate triumph over these forces through their use of right reason and the aid of Providence. Granted that the same broad theme has occupied many writers, and that the fact of its appearance in *Comus* and *The Tempest* does not, by itself, prove a direct relationship between these works. Granted, also, that Milton and Shakespeare handle the theme quite differently, according to their philosophies. The Lady triumphs over sensuality largely by the strength of her own will, whereas Prospero from the beginning relies almost entirely upon supernatural means to bring the sinners to judgment and in other ways to ensure the victory of goodness. In *Comus*, moreover, the opposition is a real contest, while in *The Tempest*, even though Prospero must exert himself to win, there is never any doubt as to the outcome of his schemes: the evil which mere men may inflict can scarcely avail against a magician who controls the elements. Yet, when these and other differences are allowed for, the fact remains that in *The Tempest* Milton would have found a magnificent working-out of the same great theme that was to engage him in *Comus*: namely, that upon the spiritual strength of the righteous depends the preservation, in this life, of truth and order and justice.

If the battle in the forest at Ludlow and on Prospero's island is being waged between good and evil, the single combat, so to speak, that will decide the outcome at Ludlow, and prove only slightly less crucial on the island, is being fought between chastity and lust. The importance of chastity in *The Tempest* is shown by the fact that Prospero twice warns Ferdinand of the absolute necessity for it (IV. i. 14-23, 51-54), and Juno and Ceres plainly imply that their blessings are withheld from those who do not practise it (IV. i. 86ff.). Moreover, the bestial Caliban's attempt to violate the honor of Miranda (I. ii. 345ff.), and later the unchaste designs against Miranda of Caliban and his drunken companions so enrage Prospero that he inflicts severe punishment upon the guilty. All this insistence on the chastity of the characters makes it appear as if Prospero "were conducting, with magically purified book and rod, the kind of experiment which depended for its success on the absolute purity of all concerned" (Kermode, p. xlix).

As guardian of justice and order in his island world, and as the loving father of Miranda, Prospero must exact from Ferdinand a promise not to "break

her virgin-knot" until "All sanctimonious ceremonies may/ With full and holy rites be minist'ed".¹¹ The promise given, Prospero rewards the lovers symbolically by staging a masque in which Juno, goddess of marriage, and Ceres, goddess of abundance, appear "To bless this twain, that they may prosperous be/ And honour'd in their issue" (IV. i. 104-105). Before doing her part, Ceres requires assurance that Venus and her blind son have been thwarted by the lovers' vow of chastity. Next the goddesses sing their blessings on the pair; a dance of "temperate nymphs" and "sunburn'd sicklemen" follows; and the masque comes to an end.

The whole episode is handled with such exquisite charm that the artist in Milton could not fail to be impressed, even if the moralist might have demanded a somewhat weightier treatment of "the sage/ And serious doctrine of Virginité".¹² Moreover, the two authors are looking at virginity in quite a different light. In *The Tempest*, as in the other late romances of Shakespeare, virginity is a condition required of the heroine before marriage; happiness in marriage is her goal and reward. In *Comus*, on the other hand, it appears that virginity¹³ is its own end; the virgin's reward is not marriage, but an unassailable mind and the approbation of Heaven.¹⁴ Yet, if we may accept the main point of Tillyard's argument, the revisions of *Comus* which Milton incorporated into the first edition of 1637 bring his ideas into closer agreement with those of Shakespeare. In the lines which Milton added to the Spirit's Epilogue (ll. 996-1010), with their unmistakable reference to Spenser's Garden of Adonis, Tillyard sees evidence that Milton was resolving the inconclusive debate between *Comus* and the Lady by proposing, as the justification and reward for virginity, a happy marriage.¹⁵ Although the allusions to Spenser and the married state are oblique—too oblique for some, Tillyard confesses—still the argument on the whole is persuasive. And it is well to remember that even at the height of his youthful idealism Milton never rejected the idea of marriage as being incompatible with chastity. He concludes the famous passage on chastity in *An Apology for Smectymnuus* with the statement that the heavenly music is inapprehensible except to those who are not "defiled with women, which doubtless means fornication; for marriage must not be called a defilement" (*Student's Milton*, p. 550).

Thus far I have been trying to show that *Comus* resembles *The Tempest* in form and in theme. An examination of the characters in the two works reveals even more definite similarities. The Attendant Spirit, for example, is a more majestic, more specifically Christian, and more talkative counterpart of Ariel.

¹¹ IV. i. 15-17. All quotations from *The Tempest* are from William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. George Lyman Kittredge (Boston, 1939).

¹² Lines 785-786. All quotations from Milton are from *The Student's Milton*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson, revised ed. (New York, 1933).

¹³ Following what I believe to be Milton's own practice in *Comus*, I use the terms "chastity" and "virginity", in reference to *Comus*, more or less interchangeably. I find that I am supported in this opinion by Robert Martin Adams, in "Reading *Comus*", *MP*, LI (1953), 21.

¹⁴ See especially the Elder Brother's speech, ll. 417-474.

¹⁵ E. M. W. Tillyard, "The Action of *Comus*", in *Studies in Milton* (London, 1951), pp. 82-99. Tillyard's interpretation of the Epilogue is opposed by a number of scholars. See A. S. P. Woodhouse, "The Argument of Milton's *Comus*", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XI (1941), 65-71; J. C. Maxwell, "The Pseudo-Problem of *Comus*", *Cambridge Journal*, I (1947-48), 376-380; Robert Martin Adams, "Reading *Comus*", *MP*, LI (1953), 19; A. E. Dyson, "The Interpretation of *Comus*", *Essays and Studies* (1955), pp. 90-91.

That Milton, consciously or unconsciously, recalled Ariel when he created the Attendant Spirit is evident from the opening lines of the Spirit's Epilogue—"to the Ocean now I fly,/ . . . There I suck the liquid ayr/ All amidst the Gardens fair" (ll. 975-980)—with their clear echo of Ariel's song in Act V, "Where the bee sucks, there suck I".¹⁶ Both creatures are elemental spirits, Ariel of the pure air,¹⁷ the Attendant Spirit of fire.¹⁸ Both can make themselves invisible, or can put on whatever shape they will. The Attendant Spirit disguises himself as Thyrsis, a shepherd, and when Comus approaches, makes himself "viewles" (l. 92); Ariel is most of the time invisible to all except Prospero, though on one occasion he takes the shape of a water nymph, and on another, a harpy. Both have a marvelous freedom of movement. The Attendant Spirit boasts: "I can fly, or I can run/ Quickly to the green earths end" (ll. 1012-13); while Ariel agrees to do his master's pleasure, "be't to fly,/ To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride/ On the curl'd clouds" (I. ii. 190-192).

The two spirits have the same mission: they are instruments of justice, or as Ariel puts it, "ministers of Fate" (III. iii. 61). When any person "favour'd of high *Jove*" passes through the drear wood where the enchanter Comus lurks, the Attendant Spirit descends to protect him, "Swift as the Sparkle of a glancing Star" (ll. 77-81). In like manner Ariel, though himself a being without moral nature (Kittredge, pp. xx-xxi), faithfully carries out his master's designs for protecting virtue and innocence and thwarting evil. He saves the shipwrecked men from drowning; fosters the romance between Ferdinand and Miranda; prevents the murder of Gonzago and Alonso; arraigns the "three men of sin"; breaks up the evil conspiracy of Caliban; and in other ways assists Prospero in the administering of justice.

Comus is a spirit, too (see ll. 111ff.), though a wicked one, and he also shares with Ariel the invulnerability to ordinary weapons such as swords (ll. 608-614; *Tempest* III. iii. 60-66). In other respects he is a kind of combination of Prospero and Caliban, if such is possible. Like Prospero, he is a magician; his art, however, is black magic, or witchcraft, which he learned from his mother Circe. Thus he is related to Caliban's mother Sycorax, who had power to work "mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible" (I. ii. 257-281). Prospero, on the other hand, practises white or natural magic,¹⁹ which he has learned out of books. The aims of the two magicians are of course exactly opposite. Prospero seeks to protect the virtuous and innocent, Comus to destroy them; Prospero would have men live up to their innate nobility, Comus would degrade men to the level of beasts.

Happily for his intended victims, the art of Comus has limited potency. He can cast spells; he can distinguish a virgin by her footfall; by sprinkling magic dust he can delude his victims; and best—or worst—of all, he can transform human beings into animals. But this last and most impressive feat he cannot

¹⁶ Noted in Thaler, *Shakespeare's Silences*, p. 199.

¹⁷ See Kittredge, Introduction, p. xx. See also Walter Clyde Curry, *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* (Louisiana State University Press, 1937), pp. 186-195.

¹⁸ Suggested by Merritt Y. Hughes, who refers to the passage in *Paradise Lost*, II. 139-142, where the hierarchy of spirits is said to be made of fire of various degrees of refinement. (See John Milton, *Paradise Regained, The Minor Poems, and Samson Agonistes*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes [New York, 1937], note on l. 111 of *Comus*.)

¹⁹ Also called theurgy. For the distinction between the two kinds of magic, see Kittredge, pp. xviii-xix; Curry, *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns*, pp. 165-183.

perform if the human beings are themselves unwilling. Thus the Lady by her indomitable will stands firm against all his blandishments and threats, and so retains her human countenance, "Th' express resemblance of the gods" (I. 69). Prospero, because he controls the elements and has sovereignty over the human will, is never frustrated in his designs. His powers are truly awesome, as he describes them in his great "farewell" to his art: "I have bedimm'd/ The noon-tide sun . . ." (V. i. 41-50).

Neither magician, however, can perform his feats without the aid of certain paraphernalia. Comus has his wand, his magic dust, and cordial; Prospero, his robe, his wand, and his books. In order to render Comus powerless, the brothers must rush upon him, "break his glass,/ And shed the lushious liquour on the ground,/ But cease his wand" (II. 650-652). Similarly, Prospero without his books is, so Caliban tells us, "but a sot, as I am, nor hath not/ One spirit to command" (III. ii. 99-102).

Comus' resemblance to Prospero goes no further than this ability to practise magic. In most other respects he is like Caliban, though of course he is infinitely more refined. Both creatures are offspring of parents of varying degrees of badness: Comus of Bacchus, god of wine, and the enchantress Circe; Caliban of the "damn'd witch" Sycorax and the devil himself (I. ii. 263-270, 319-320). Both are embodiments of intemperance in all its forms. As Comus attempts to seduce the Lady, so Caliban tries to violate the honor of Miranda. Excited by drink as much as by the Lady's resistance, Comus speaks in the wildest fashion of what would happen if temperance should restrict us in our enjoyment of nature's bounty. In like manner, Caliban is rendered so foolish by Stephano's "celestial liquor" that he prostrates himself before Stephano as before a god. The enslavement of these bad creatures—both are slaves to their senses, Caliban is physically a slave as well—is contrasted to the freedom enjoyed by the chaste Lady and the pure spirit Ariel. Still, Comus and Caliban are not all bad. Much may be forgiven them for their delight in music, a delight they share with Congreve's savage, and for their obvious love for the beauties of the countryside: Comus knows "each lane, and every alley green/ Dingle or bushy dell of this wilde Wood" (II. 310ff.), and Caliban is eager to show Stephano "all the qualities o' the isle" (I. ii. 337; II. ii. 164ff.).

Certainly it would be unfair to the charming Comus to press too far his resemblance to Caliban, the "freckled whelp, hag-born" (I. ii. 283). In a sense the real counterparts of the sub-human Caliban are the "rout of Monsters headed like sundry sorts of wilde Beasts", who attend upon Comus. It is interesting to note that the same symbolism is employed by Milton to describe these victims of their own intemperance as is employed by Shakespeare to describe Caliban and his fellow-conspirators, whom drink and greed have debased. When Ariel beat his tabor, "like unback'd colts they prick'd their ears,/ Advanc'd their eyelids, lifted up their noses/ As they smelt music" (IV. i. 176-178). The "foul lake" in which Ariel leaves them, "dancing up to th' chins", is the equivalent of the "sensual stie" in which the followers of Comus roll with pleasure (I. 76).

The Lady has Miranda's youth, beauty, and purity, and in addition a rather formidable self-reliance and skill in debate which she has acquired from her experience in the world of men and also, one suspects, from the study of moral philosophy. "Comus's first greeting to the Lady", it has been observed, "is

staged and written in the spirit of the dramatic romances, and probably with specific memories of Ferdinand's first scene with Miranda" (Thaler, *Shakespeare's Silences*, p. 200). The songs of Ariel and of the Lady form a lyrical prelude; then Ferdinand and Comus step forward to hail the young women as goddesses.²⁰

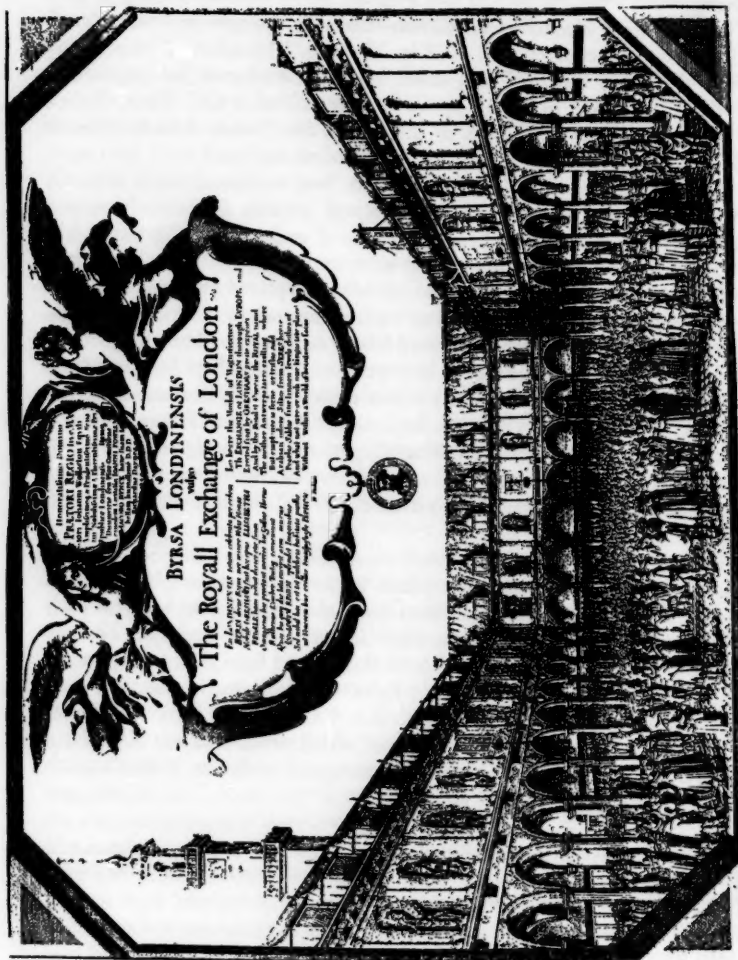
The remaining characters in *Comus*—the two brothers and the nymph Sabrina—have no counterparts in *The Tempest*. The idea of having two brothers wander in search of their sister, whom an enchanter has imprisoned, was perhaps suggested to Milton by his reading of Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, a play frequently mentioned as one of the sources for *Comus*. And nymphs, of course, are one of the standard features of the court masque.

After all the more tangible likenesses have been accounted for, it is finally in the atmosphere of *Comus* and *The Tempest*, I think, that their kinship is most strongly felt. One moves here in a world of enchantment, his senses, like those of the Lady and the shipwrecked men, enthralled by visions of strange shapes and vanishing spirits, by the sounds of music played by an unseen hand or sung by a ghostly voice. When Milton entered the enchanted wood of Comus, he entered again in memory the haunted island of Prospero. Something of this airy, magical, shimmering quality in the two works has perhaps been conveyed by the passages I have quoted; many others could be cited, if space allowed. I shall mention only the Lady's speech beginning, "A thousand fantasies/ Begin to throng into my memory/ Of calling shapes, and beck'ning shadows dire" (ll. 204-210), and Caliban's lovely eulogy of the music that brings men dreams: "Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments/ Will hum about mine ears" (III. ii. 144-152).

It has long been acknowledged that when Milton was writing *Comus*, he was deeply under the spell of Shakespeare. It has also been recognized that of all the comedies of Shakespeare, Milton drew most heavily, in both his early and his later poems, upon *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest* (Thaler, *Shakespeare's Silences*, p. 206). In this paper I have tried to suggest, by pointing out the many resemblances in form, theme, dramatic situation, characterization, atmosphere, and language, that *The Tempest* provided *Comus* with a good deal more than an occasional verbal echo, or some hints for a character or two—that, in fact, it served as an actual model for Milton's poem.

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²⁰ See *Comus*, ll. 243-265; *The Tempest* I. ii. 375-427. Greetings such as these go back to Virgil's "O dea certe". Compare the Satyr's address to the chaste Clorin in Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*, ll. 58-65.



Britain's Bourse, built in 1566 by Sir Thomas Gresham, and named The Royal Exchange by Queen Elizabeth when she dined there in 1570. Destroyed by fire in 1839. From the engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar of 1644. See p. 256.

Musical Terms in *The Taming of The Shrew*: Evidence of Single Authorship

TOMMY RUTH WALDO AND T. W. HERBERT



ALTHOUGH *The Taming of the Shrew* appeared in the 1623 Folio, its authorship has since Warburton¹ been a point of debate. Did Shakespeare write all or only a part? If he wrote only a part, with whom did he collaborate?

The Induction and the Petruchio-Kate scenes are universally ascribed to Shakespeare. Much of the rest has been by many scholars ascribed either to an unknown² or to Marlowe, Chapman, Greene, or Lodge,³ whereas other scholars either accept the evidence of Heminge and Condell⁴ or contend that a comprehensive unity⁵ in the play argues for Shakespeare's single hand. Conspicuous among the latter are Ernest P. Kuhl and K. Wendersdorf, with whose reasoning the results of the present study agree. Kuhl demonstrates a unity in structure, characterization, and mood, and incidentally mentions the extensive musical imagery in all parts as appropriate to a man having Shakespeare's knowledge.⁶ Evidence that the whole play is Shakespeare's, Wendersdorf finds in the "characteristic Shakespearian imagery, that is to say similes and metaphors of the type found elsewhere in the canon, throughout the whole piece."⁷

The present study examines dramatic dialogue for musical terms and other references to music, whether they form similes or metaphors or whether they are used as puns, or however they are used.

We shall employ two terms that now need defining. A reference will be

¹ See the note by Richard Farmer in Edmond Malone, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (London, 1821), V, 351.

² Richard Farmer, J. Payne Collier, Richard Grant White, F. G. Fleay, F. J. Furnivall, and König, cited by Albert H. Tolman, "Shakespeare's Part in *The Taming of the Shrew*", *PMLA*, V (1890), 252-257; E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (London, 1930), I, 324; Thomas Marc Parrott, *Shakespeare: Twenty-Three Plays and the Sonnets* (New York, 1953), p. 56.

³ J. M. Robertson, *Shakespeare and Chapman* (London, 1917), pp. 226-238, and *An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon* (London, 1924), pp. 413-415; Albert H. Tolman, pp. 273-276.

⁴ For example, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, *The Taming of the Shrew* (London, 1928), Intro., pp. ix-x. See also F. S. Boas, *The Taming of a Shrew* (London, 1908), Intro., p. xxxix.

⁵ Dr. Johnson said, "The two plots are so well united, that they can hardly be called two without injury to the art with which they are interwoven." Quoted in Walter Raleigh, *Johnson on Shakespeare* (London, 1925), p. 96.

⁶ Ernest P. Kuhl, "The Authorship of *The Taming of the Shrew*", *PMLA*, XL (1925), 552.

⁷ K. Wendersdorf, "The Authenticity of *The Taming of the Shrew*", *SQ*, V (January, 1954), 14. Wendersdorf and Kuhl have full summaries of the scholarship on our question.

Moody E. Prior, foreseeing that Wendersdorf would stimulate similar work, has in "Imagery As a Test of Authorship" (*SQ*, VI, 381-386) recommended an austere regard for "controls". Our findings support his skepticism. But though we attempt to make a defensible statement on grounds a little different, we are in Wendersdorf's debt.

called "denotative", if it literally and merely names something musical or asserts that something musical happens. A reference will be called "allusive", if it not only speaks about music but because of word-play or figure of speech or any other species of association suggests some meaning beyond what is merely denoted.

Our study uses references to music as a test of authorship by assessing their quantity and complexity. A poet who uses many is different from one who uses few. One whose use of such references is demonstrably complex is different from one whose usage is simple.

Happily for this study, the Shakespeare of the comedies in the period beginning with *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and ending with *Twelfth Night* (the period within which *The Taming of the Shrew* is commonly dated) is in what may reasonably be called a superlative position in the following respects. Compared with all the suggested collaborators he has the largest average number of references to music per play. And among all the extant plays written before 1603 by such collaborators, only three have more references to music than *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which has the smallest number among these of Shakespeare. Among plays having a relatively large number, the Shakespeare comedies contain a higher percentage that can be called "allusive". And if we examine only the "allusive" references, those in the Shakespeare comedies characteristically exhibit a greater complexity. Since both the acknowledged Shakespearean share of *The Taming of the Shrew* and the suspect share are in all these respects like one another and like the other relevant Shakespeare comedies, but unlike each and all of the examined contemporary plays by suggested collaborators, the evidence drawn from usage of musical terms points toward Shakespeare as the sole author.

We shall now examine the data upon which this argument rests.

QUANTITY

An abundance of musical references, most of them "allusive", is typical of Shakespeare's comedies in the period with which we are concerned. In the following tabulation the first numeral indicates the quantity of "allusive" references, the second the total number of references. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 63, 68; *Love's Labour's Lost*, 39, 52; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 24, 55;⁸ *The Merchant of Venice*, 37, 37; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 51, 81; *As You Like It*, 24, 65;⁸ *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 15, 28; *Twelfth Night*, 86, 91.⁹

In the work of other dramatists suggested as collaborators, the quantities of references in plays sometimes dated 1602 or earlier are noticeably smaller, as the following tabulation on the same principles will show. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine, Part I*, 2, 23; *Tamburlaine, Part II*, 4, 24; *Doctor Faustus*, 0, 9; *The Jew of Malta*, 9, 27; *Edward II*, 4 or possibly 5, 29; *Dido*, 6 or possibly 7, 13; *The Mas-*

⁸ Our figures for *Dream* and *A.Y.L.* (and to some degree for *Wives*) fall short of indicating the allusive quality of the references in these plays. For instance, in *Dream* the actual denoted music mentioned by Titania and Bottom acquires a pattern of contrast. By sharing the pattern the musical terms have an associative value as surely as if they were metaphors.

⁹ We follow the notes, dating, and text of *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, The New Cambridge Edition, ed. William Allan Neilson and Charles Jarvis Hill (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), except for facts not there mentioned.

sacre at Paris, 0, 5; Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, 2, 25; *Orlando Furioso*, 6, 20; *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, 7, 9; *James IV*, 3, 23; *George-a-Greene*, 0, 4; Lodge and Greene's *A Looking Glass for London and England*, 6, 27; Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*, 2, 11; Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, 5, 14; *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, 5, 8; *May Day*, 0, 20; *All Fools*, 15, 34; *The Gentleman Usher*, 4, 29.¹⁰

The Taming of the Shrew contains one hundred musical references. Eighty-four are "allusive" and sixteen "denotative". In the acknowledged Shakespearian share the ratio is thirty "allusive" to six "denotative"; in the "non-Shakespearian" share the ratio is fifty-four to ten. In quantity of musical references, then, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and each part of it, resembles the unquestioned Shakespeare plays.

On the basis of Sir E. K. Chambers' division of the play into Shakespearian and non-Shakespearian sections,¹¹ the following table locates the references upon which we argue our case.¹²

In the Shakespearian parts: "Allusive" references: Ind. ii. 37 (2 references), 38 (2); II. i. 116,¹³ 145-160 (11), 172, 203-208 (5), 326; IV. i. 20-21, 43, 45,¹⁴ 143, 148-149; V. ii. 1 (2). "Denotative" references: Ind. i. 50, 51, 74 (2); ii. 37; III. ii. 185.

In the "non-Shakespearian" parts: "Allusive" references: I. i. 36, 82, 84, 93 (2), 131; ii. 16, 17 (2), 68, 207 (3); III. i. 5, 7, 10, 14, 16-81 (36), 92.¹⁵ "Denotative" references: I. i. 83; II. ii. 134, 174; II. i. 56, 82, 100, 107; III. i. 1; ii. 149; IV. ii. 17.

COMPLEXITY

I

Allusion is more complex than denotation, and we have already seen evidence that the questioned share of *The Taming of the Shrew*, like Shakespeare's

¹⁰ In choosing plays for comparison we take the earliest dating in Thomas M. Parrott and Robert H. Ball, *A Short View of Elizabethan Drama* (New York, 1943).

¹¹ Chambers, I, 324. Sir Edmund said this: "I assign to Shakespeare Ind. i, ii; ii. 1. 1-38, 115-326; iii. 2. 1-129, 151-254; iv. 1, 3, 5; v. 2. 1-181. Possibly he also contributed to the Petruchio episode in i. 2. 1-116. Some critics give him less than I have done." We have called I. i. 1-116 "non-Shakespearian". If we had called these lines "Shakespearian" we would have given our case slight additional apparent strength in one way (by bringing the proportions of musical references in the two parts into nearer agreement) and weakened it slightly in another (by cutting from the "non-Shakespearian" part a passage which participates in the patterns of musical "cross references" that suggest a single mind at work).

¹² In all our counting, each word signifying something musical is one reference. Our method may be illustrated from two lines: Induction. ii. 37-38: "Wilt thou have music?" the Lord asks. He means, literally, music; *music*, then, is one denotative reference. "Hark! Apollo plays", he continues; it is not a character named Apollo, it is a musician or so in the next room; but Apollo is the god of music; *Apollo* and *plays* are, hence, two allusive references. "And twenty caged *nightingales do sing*", he concludes. The actor playing the part knows it isn't nightingales; *nightingales* and *do sing*, then, constitute two allusive references.

Once in a while it is hard to say whether a word should be counted. When in Marlowe's line quoted below (p. 191) Barabas compares himself to a lark, "*Singing . . . as she does*", we have not counted *does*. In "How sweet the bells ring now the nuns are dead, / That *sound* at other times like tinkers' pans!" (p. 191) we have counted *sound*. We have tried to treat Shakespeare and every other dramatist alike, and though we acknowledge a margin of disputability as well as of error, we believe both margins added together are too small to alter our effective results.

¹³ Cited by Charles Read Baskerville, *The Elizabethan jig* (Chicago, 1929), p. 194, as the last line in a well-known ballad stanza.

¹⁴ Quibble on the "catch", a song, in "cony-catching".

¹⁵ Musical quibble in "changing".

comedies of the nineties, has a greater proportion of complex references than the plays of suggested collaborators.

At first blush, then, the case for complexity as evidence of Shakespeare's comprehensive hand might appear to be already outlined. But there is no preventing people from guessing at still other collaborators. If on the basis of mere quantity of references to music in the dialogue one chose to make a case for George Peele, one could point to the fifty or so in *The Arraignment of Paris*, enough to range that lovely creation with the Shakespeare comedies. Furthermore, *Friar Bacon* is not the only early play having a modest number of "allusive" references in a ratio like Shakespeare's: Lyly's *Endymion* contains six "allusive" to two merely "denotative". There may indeed very well be, somewhere, a play written before 1603 containing many references to music, most of them "allusive".

However, there is a quality in Shakespeare's characteristic use of allusion which sets him apart. A measurable factor in this quality is its complexity. We cannot measure the complexity of an allusion precisely or finally, any more than we can predict the resources of every hearer's memory and his propensity for finding and tolerating a variety of suggestions stemming from a single source. But complexity in allusion is arithmetically measurable to a degree sufficient for our present purpose—again because Shakespeare stands in an extreme position only rarely approached by his fellows.

From this point on, we shall concern ourselves no longer with "denotative" but only with varieties of "allusive" references.

We shall call an allusion "simple" when the word in question alludes to not more than one single thing beyond whatever it merely denotes. For example, when at the sound of music the Lord in the Induction says to Sly, "Hark! Apollo plays", the mythological allusion is simple.

When a word calls upon two or more objects of association, we shall call the allusion "complex".

Throughout his career, and particularly in the nineties, Shakespeare used complex musical allusion far more frequently than simple allusion. Of no other playwright of the nineties can this be so emphatically said. Full demonstration of the persistence of the trait in Shakespeare would require more space than is available. But we can descry the essential aspect of his habit by examining light-hearted equivocations in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (c. 1592) and more serious poetry in *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596).

Sixty-eight references to music in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* are concentrated in nine passages.

One of these (I.ii.80-97) begins when Julia pretends that her love letter from Proteus is a sonnet written to Lucetta and Lucetta banteringly proposes to sing it to a tune. At first the punning is simple. When Lucetta says, "Give me a *note*; your ladyship can *set*", she is using *set* to make *note* become a pun and the whole sentence the vehicle of a double meaning: she asks for a written response and for the pitch of a tune to fit the "sonnet". When Julia responds, "As little by such *toys* as may be possible", taking the word *set* in still a third sense, the musical multiple-talk is well launched. At times the musical terms revert to mere two-part quibbles, as when "high" refers to treble notes and exalted station. But the equivocation grows complex again after Lucetta says the "sonnet" is too

"heavy" for so light a tune as "Light o' love". In her phrasing, "heavy" means *weighty* and *sad*. When Julia responds, "Belike it hath some burden then", she is accepting the sense of "heavy" as *weighty*, interpreting the weightiness of the piece as ensuing from its carrying a load, but using "burden" also in its sense of *significance*, and going beyond that to make "burden" allude to the drone bass or refrain which "Light o' love" notoriously lacked (*Much* III. v. 40-46). This passage, then, is characteristically Shakespearian because a single musical term is used in more than one sense other than the musical.

It is also characteristically Shakespearian because a series of more than two terms employed in a musical conversation produces at the same time the thread of a non-musical sequence of thought.

This double-chain species of complexity appears again conspicuously when Julia spies upon Proteus' serenade to Sylvia (IV. ii. 55-72). Julia berates the falsity of Proteus' dealing with her, while the Host responds on the assumption that she is talking about the art of the hired musician.

These witty equivocations in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* are definably complex, but in the more serious *Merchant of Venice* there are musical passages with ramifications of meaning which reach into questions of character and moral conviction and which are inter-related in a significant large pattern.

When Shylock (II. v. 28-36) admonishes Jessica to close the ears, that is the windows of his house, while the revelers go by, he is protecting not only his house but her ears from the music and her character from the attendant allurements. He is at the same time locking her into his control with family and tribal as well as personal authority. The literal musical terms (meaning the frivolous music) are thus amplified into a symbolic representation of all that Shylock regards as "shallow fopp'ry" in Christians and set in opposition to his Jewish beliefs about the proper conduct of his daughter. The musical reference is, then, complex in that it connotes at least two threads of non-musical association which touch upon convictions that give character to Shylock.

The three passages in *The Merchant of Venice* which have most to do with music illustrate Shakespeare's practice of using musical allusions in a pattern. In the scene just discussed, particularly the contemptuous reference to the "vile squealing of the wry-neck'd fife", Shylock's aversion to music is apparent, and it is he who comes to mind later (V. i. 83-85) when Lorenzo says, "The man that hath no music in himself . . . , Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils." In the casket scene Portia reveals that she is sympathetic towards music: her reactions to Bassanio's choice will interpret the mood of the accompanying music and render it appropriate (III. ii. 43-53). The passage is addressed to the same theme as Lorenzo's speech at the beginning of Act V, rapturously describing the "harmony . . . in immortal souls" and the "sweet power" of music on earth. One's attitude toward music becomes an auxiliary indicator of character. Shylock is, accordingly, not to be trusted; Lorenzo is pleasant, if sentimental; Portia, who thinks that the music would be less enchanting if heard by daylight (V. i. 102-106) is not less worthy, but more realistic. Thus, the play has a pattern of musical references betokening aspects of character. A musical reference in such a pattern is complex in a new sense of the word.

When the Elizabethan thought about what we now sometimes call human personality and man's adjustment to nature and society, he had several com-

monplace frames of reference. There were the humours, the horoscope, the great chain of being, the will of God. Put another way, the good man was in harmony with the universal order whose cosmic expression was the music of the spheres.¹⁶

Shakespeare was not alone among the poets and playwrights in assuming that a good man was in tune with the celestial music and a bad man out of tune, that audible music was in harmony with the celestial, that audible music had a beneficial effect on man's nature, and that a love of audible music was an index to goodness. However, particularly in the period with which we are concerned, though not exclusively there, he notably honored these assumptions. Not everyone who wrote a play did the same so consistently. As we shall notice below, iconoclastic, shocking Marlowe, though he generally adhered to the sweet tradition, as when Tamburlaine at the death of Zenocrate refers to the music in heaven and to "The God that tunes this music to our souls", was also capable of letting a black villain in the very posture of villainy compare himself with gloating delight to a singing lark. In the same play Marlowe gave a scoundrel an enraptured musical figure to describe the kiss of a whore. Chapman, in *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, used a pair of musical metaphors as euphemisms for a heartless copulation.¹⁷ Musical imagery for such non-cosmic purposes is not characteristic of Shakespeare.

In *The Merchant of Venice* the pattern of cross-references emerging from the musical allusions has a consistent relationship to the concept of the music of the spheres; and we can be sure Shakespeare knew what he was about because of a key passage in Lorenzo's disquisition on the power of music: "There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st / But in his motion like an angel sings" (V.i.60-61).

Among the candidates for authorship of the suspect portions of *The Shrew*, Shakespeare will be a particularly strong contender if in both shares of the play the musical references are complex in the ways we have seen illustrated in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merchant of Venice*. His characteristic complexity is evident when:

1. A musical term alludes to more than one thing other than music.
2. A series of more than two terms employed in a musical conversation produces at the same time the thread of a non-musical sequence of thought.
3. A musical term touches by implication dramatically important questions of character.
4. The musical allusions of a play taken as a whole form a pattern, especially if the pattern evokes the doctrine of the music of the spheres.

II

If we turn to the works of other dramatists in the nineties, we shall find that their musical references are not in these specific ways complex.

In twelve plays of Greene, Chapman, and Lodge dated before 1603, there are only fifty-six examples of allusive musical references, all "simple". Of these, the most nearly "complex" group occurs in Chapman's *The Gentleman Usher*.

¹⁶ For a notice of the doctrine, called Pythagorean, see Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London, 1948), pp. 1-2.

¹⁷ George Chapman, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, reprint by W. W. Greg of the 1598 Quarto for the Malone Society (Oxford, 1928), ll. 1206-207.

Cynanche is thinking about a hunt, and she speaks of it thus: "Or let me view the fearefull hare or hinde / Tosst like a *musicke point* with *harmonie* / Of well-mouthed hounds" (I. i. 67-69).¹⁸ As Parrott's note explains, the hunted animal is driven about like a theme in a fugue. The words constitute a "simple" though provocative and haunting simile.

Marlowe's musical allusions are striking. Though they are rare and though they do not often exhibit great complexity, those in *The Jew of Malta* and *Edward II* deserve special discussion.

In *The Jew* there are three notable passages:¹⁹

Now Phoebus ope the eyelids of the day,
And for the raven wake the morning lark,
That I may hover with her in the air;
Singing o'er these, as she does o'er her young.
(II. i. 59-62)

There is no *music* to a Christian's *knell*:
How sweet the *bells ring* now the nuns are dead,
That *sound* at other times like tinker's pans!
(IV. i. 1-3)

That kiss again! She *runs division* of my lips.
(IV. iii. 147)

The first passage has two related similes: Barabas is associated with the lark, his money bags with the young larks. Both are singing with joy. The second passage has one basic musical reference, the ringing of bells; these sound in two different ways under different circumstances. In the third passage, Bellamira plays on Ithamore's lips as a musician would invent divisions (variations in short notes) on a ground bass (an invariable bass of longer notes);²⁰ it is the comparison of one thing to another as a third is to a fourth.

In each of the three passages we find, explicitly or by implication, two related allusions, mostly comparisons. The result is vivid and rich, but none of the allusions is "complex" if by that term we mean it calls upon two or more objects of association.

Edward II contains two passages having allusive musical references:

These are not men for me:
I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits,
Musicians, that with touching of a *string*
May draw the pliant king which way I please.
Music and poetry is his delight;
Therefore I'll have Italian masks by night . . .
(I. i. 50-55)

Ah, boy, thou art deceiv'd, at least in this,
To think that we can yet be *tun'd* together;
No, no, we jar too far.
(IV. ii. 8-10)

¹⁸ George Chapman, *The Gentleman Usher*, together with *All Fools*, edited by Thomas Marc Parrott (Boston, 1907).

¹⁹ Our quotations from Marlowe follow the modernized text in *English Drama, 1580-1642*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke and Nathaniel Burton Paradise (New York, 1933).

²⁰ See Edward W. Naylor, *Shakespeare and Music* (London, rev. ed., 1931), pp. 28-30.

The musical words of the first passage are used in their literal sense, but their power to "draw" is of course figurative. The figure is "simple". The bitter Queen's word "jar", however, not only refers to her inharmonious relationship with the king but with wide-ranging allusion insists upon the play's dominant concept, that Edward is out of proper relationship to various demands upon him. The allusion is emphatically complex.

The "complex" musical allusion, a characteristically Shakespearian device, was, as we have now observed, used in the plays of no suggested collaborator except Marlowe,²¹ and only once by even that excellent poet.

Despite Marlowe's reverberating phrase, it appears that of all the plays by anyone who may have collaborated with Shakespeare, the anonymous *Taming of a Shrew* comes closest to matching the measurable Shakespearian manner in passages touching music—closest, but not very close at that.

A Shrew contains 19 "allusive" out of a total of 38 references to music.

In *A Shrew* suitors for the love of Kate's sisters intend to distract Kate's attention by involving her in a lute lesson. One scene shows their planning, a second shows the unsuccessful instruction. Neither has musical quibbles of any kind, and the dialogue about the music contains only one metaphor, Kate's "Then make a night-cap of your fiddle's case, / To warm your head, and hide your filthy face" (II. i. 14-15).²²

But in a fashion often exemplified in Shakespeare's plays Kate's attitude towards music, music teacher, and music instruction is a lively means of revealing in her character qualities essential to her role. Further, the theory of music voiced by *A Shrew's* music teacher is derived from the same celestial doctrine applauded by Shakespeare's people:

The senseless trees by *music* have been moved,
And at the *sound* of pleasant *tuned strings*,
Have savage beasts hung down their list'ning heads,
As though they had been cast into a trance:
Then it may be that she whom nought can please,
With *music's sound* in time may be surprised.

(II. i. 1-6)

Indeed, Shakespeare echoed and recombined the assertion about trees and wild beasts, together with the only other musical figure of speech in *A Shrew*, a reference to Orpheus (III. vi. 28-34), in a single passage in *The Merchant of Venice* (V. i. 71-82) when Lorenzo is telling Jessica his doctrine of love and music.

In brief passages, then, *A Shrew* is describable in terms that fit Shakespeare and it does suggest the theme of MUSIC *versus* SHREW. But musical allusion in the play as a whole does not go in the Shakespearian manner.

²¹ Some have attributed even fewer musical images to Marlowe than would appear from our count of references. Marion Bodwell Smith, *Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon* (Philadelphia, 1940), lists (p. 204) only one image from the arts in *The Jew of Malta* and three from the arts in *Edward II*.

²² Our text for *Taming of a Shrew* is that edited by F. S. Boas for The Shakespeare Library (London, 1908).

III

Next we shall need to determine whether the musical allusions of *The Taming of the Shrew*, both in the Shakespearian and the "non-Shakespearian" sections and in the play taken as a whole, are complex in the characteristic Shakespearian way.

First let us examine those in the acknowledged Shakespearian parts. Very few indeed are "simple".

The quibbling scene of Hortensio's report on his unsuccessful attempt to instruct Kate in the lute is complex in all the ways the corresponding scene in *A Shrew* displays, and in several other ways besides.

Bap. What, will my daughter prove a good *musician*?

Hor. I think she'll sooner prove a soldier.

Iron may hold with her, but never *lutes*.

Bap. Why, then thou canst not break her to the *lute*?

Hor. Why, no; for she hath broke the *lute* to me.

I did but tell her she mistook her *frets*,

And bow'd her hand to teach her *fingering*;

When, with a most impatient devilish spirit,

"*Frets*, call you these?" quoth she; "I'll fume with them;"

And, with that word, she struck me on the head,

And through the *instrument* my pate made way;

And there I stood amazed for a while,

As on a pillory, looking through the *lute*;

While she did call me rascal *fiddler*

And *twangling Jack*, with twenty such vile terms,

As had she studied to misuse me so.

(II. i. 145-160)

First, the musical references are complex because they are a series of more than two terms employed in a musical conversation which produces at the same time a non-musical sequence of thought. The word "lutes" is a quibble because of the word's meaning as a kind of mud used as a glue, and Kate wrenches the noun "frets" into a meaning capable of being paired with the verb "fume." Two strands of meaning, the musical and the belligerent, are united when Kate uses the musical instrument as a weapon. The passage is also complex in that it touches by implication deeper ideas: the established order and the necessary acceptance of authority. As in *The Merchant of Venice* the lines about "my house's ears" refer by connotation to the authority of Shylock over Jessica, so here Kate, resisting the music teacher, is at odds with her father who sent him. She is also, like Kate of *A Shrew*, rebellious against the discipline of music itself. Nothing else that we proceed to examine has any counterpart in *A Shrew*.

The musical quibbling of the Petruchio-Kate scene in Act II is also complex in a recognizably Shakespearian way.

Pet. Alas! good Kate, I will not *burden* thee;

For, knowing thee to be but young and *light*—

Kath. Too light for such a swain as you to *catch*;

And yet as *heavy* as my weight should be.

Pet. Should be! should—*buzz!*

Kath. Well ta'en, and like a *buzzard*.

Pet. O slow-wing'd turtle! shall a buzzard take thee?

(II. i. 203-208)

The words "burden", "heavy", and "light" are used in more than one sense other than the musical. Musically, a burden is a drone bass, i.e., a harmonic foundation of a song, or its refrain; a "heavy" song has a burden, a "light" song does not. In a second sense, all three words refer to another type of burden, a child, with respect to which Kate may be heavy or light. In a third sense, "burden" may be the import of a thing which is either heavy, i.e., serious, or light-hearted and light-headed. It is obvious from the interrelated meanings of the three words that this passage is also complex in another way: it is a series of more than two terms employed in a musical conversation which produces at the same time the thread of a non-musical sequence of thought.

There are further branches of meaning extended from the three chains of signification set up by "burden", "heavy", and "light". Some branches are again musical: a "catch" is a type of song. A singer of a drone bass part was said to "buzz the burden"; and "buzzard" probably refers in one of its senses to the singer himself. Petruchio therefore implies that he should be the basic music, the foundation of a harmonious existence for Kate. The non-musical thought is directed into a new channel as "light" is used in yet a fourth sense having to do with avoidupois and hence meaning "fleet of foot"; "catch" must then be understood to mean "overtake". "Buzz" as a reference to the sound of a bee or wasp and Kate's use of "buzzard" to mean the carrion-eater set up a new series of meanings which have little or nothing to do with music.

Thus the musical allusions in the unquestioned parts of *The Taming of the Shrew* are prevailingly complex in a typically Shakespearian manner. What then of the fifty-four in the so-called "non-Shakespearian" sections?

Kate's shrewish ways are early labeled by Hortensio as "loud alarums" (I. i. 131). When Petruchio later comments on the reports of Kate's chattering tongue he belittles the clamor. But he does so by rehearsing his steadiness at a multitude of loud noises (I. ii. 200-207), including such "alarums" as Hortensio has mentioned. Petruchio's list is also a list of causes of terror, so that in effect he calls her far less terrible than such things as deadly battle. His manner of belittling the noises and the terror Kate can raise, of course, leaves a comical impression of the frightfulness of a shrew. This typically Shakespearian achievement of a secondary purpose through a primary statement, a neat oratorical trick, is a trick of complexity.

The *sol-fa* pun spoken by Petruchio (I. ii. 17, "non-Shakespearian") is complex.

Pet. Villain, I say, knock me at this gate

And rap me well, or I'll knock your knave's pate.

Gru. My master is grown quarrelsome. I should knock you first,

And then I know after who comes by the worst.

Pet. Will it not be?

Faith, sirrah, an you'll not knock, I'll *ring* it.

I'll try how you can *sol, fa, and sing* it.

(I. ii. 11-17)

The quibbling is based upon Grumio's misinterpretation of Petruchio's command, and at first it is not musical. But "I'll ring it" seems to refer to "your knave's pate" in line 12, punning on "wring," as Naylor has suggested (p. 38); Petruchio threatens to wring Grumio's neck; also he will make Grumio's head ring with the force of his blows. Musically, the terms "*sol*, *fa*" and "*sing*" in line 17 may be used as synonyms: Petruchio will see how Grumio cries out when he is disciplined. This is a sufficient meaning for the line; but in view of the stage direction in the Folio ("He rings him by the eares"), the Folio's "*Sol*, *Fa*, and *sing* it" teases us with the possibility that the actor playing Petruchio might have been expected to suggest to the mind two now non-standard words. An old verb "*sowl*," pronounced the same as "*sol*," meant "to pull, seize roughly, etc., by the ears; used especially of dogs" (*NED*); "*fey*," pronounced in Elizabethan days the same as "*fa*," meant "fated to die, at the point of death". Beyond the raillery is the concept of a proper master-servant relationship, a preview of Petruchio's reaction to any disrespect for the established order of authority. The musical phrase is used in a Shakespearian manner of complexity.

The lute lesson (III. i.) is likewise complex; here the musical terms form one line of thought while producing at the same time a non-musical sequence. This is true in both of the passages where the musical references are concentrated. The first part of the scene is based on the tuning of the lute, a task well known for its difficulty.

Bian. Take you your *instrument*, play you the *whiles*;

His lecture will be done ere you have *tun'd*.

Hor. You'll leave his lecture when I am in *tune*?

Luc. That will be never; *tune* your *instrument*.

(III. i. 22-25)

Hor. Madam, my *instrument's* in *tune*.

Bian. Let's hear. O fie the *treble* jars.

Luc. *Spit in the hole*,²³ man, and *tune* again.

(III. i. 38-40)

Hor. Madam, 'tis now in *tune*.

Luc. All but the *base*.

Hor. The *base* is right; 'tis the *base* knave that jars.²⁴

(III. i. 46-47)

The literal musical meaning of the lines parallels the non-musical meaning, which suggests that Hortensio, like the lute, will never be quite "in tune" with Bianca, that his suit for her hand is hopeless.

The second musical passage in the scene plays with the gamut. It is at once a résumé of the G or Hard Hexachord in the Guidonian system of sight-singing and a letter from the gamut to Bianca pleading for Hortensio.

Gamut I am, the *ground* of all *accord*,

A re, to plead Hortensio's passion.

B mi, Bianca, take him for thy lord,

C fa ut, that loves with all affection.

²³ The Elizabethan way of moistening the pegs to make them hold.

²⁴ The word play on "base" is listed as a homonymic pun by Helge Kökeritz, *Shakespeare's Pronunciation* (New Haven, Conn., 1953), p. 95.

D sol re, one clef, two notes have I.

E la mi, show pity, or I die.

(III. i. 73-78)

The passage has tantalized commentators. Terms that may be read as "A ray" and "Beamy" seem to invite an interpretation having to do with light, and if we shift our expectation the bawdy possibilities are considerable. In still other directions Harry Colin Miller in "A Shakespearean Music Lesson" (*N & Q*, CLXV, 255-257) made a valiant attempt at explication. The secondary meanings remain a problem. Accordingly, we are not sure what the non-musical meaning is, not even sure that two actors might not with equal authority produce two different effects. Nevertheless we assume that the musical terms are to be read as syntactically integrated contributors to Hortensio's plea for lover's pity.

IV

The strongest argument for Shakespearian authorship throughout *The Taming of the Shrew* is the fourth type of complexity, a general pattern produced by cross-references among the musical allusions.

Consider the two corresponding love scenes. If we are aware of the musical background in the duel of puns between Petruchio and Kate (II. i. 200-207), then the musical double-talk of the lute lesson must bring to mind the earlier scene and heighten the contrast between the two pairs of characters and the two modes of wooing: the one scene red-blooded, outrageous, eccentric, exuberant, and paced for speed, the other a laughable commentary on the moon-calf school of wooing. If the lines in the Lucentio-Hortensio-Bianca part are less "vigorous", as Chambers has said (I, 324), the difference need not necessarily be attributed to plural authorship. The difference in vigor is appropriate to different immediate purposes which add up to a single comprehensive dramatic purpose that exploits the contrasts made conspicuous by the common element of musical terms.

There are in the play other echoes, musical in their reference, which similarly if less spectacularly link the Shakespearian and the suspect parts. The scheme extends to many parts of the play, and when examined all together appears to duplicate the scheme of the action of the play. Furthermore, the two schemes not only correspond to one another, they correspond to the doctrine, never explicitly referred to in the dialogue, of the music of the spheres and its human corollary in earthly music as the influential companion of orderly and therefore virtuous behavior.

When Kate misunderstands music or evinces hostility to music or music lore, she is hostile to the benevolent discipline of musical learning, whose function it is to render her virtuous and serene. When she refuses to understand the frets and breaks the lute over Hortensio's head, when in her punning repartee with Petruchio she refuses to consider singing in concord with him, she is not only cantankerous about specific and immediate matters but obdurate in a deeper sense, resisting her destiny as a woman in an orderly universe. And since in both instances she is hostile to Petruchio and in one instance to instruction backed by her father as well, the musical terms contribute to and thus allude to philosophic theme and major action. Both these incidents are in the Shakespearian parts.

When Kate makes or is associated with loud and discordant noises and behaves in a fashion unbecoming a woman, she poses a threat to order and decorum. References to disagreeable noise are numerous in Act I, a "non-Shakespearian" section, and every one of these,²⁵ including references to "alarums", which we construe as a musical word, is associated with Kate. Though one agreeable alternative to noise is silence, a condition often referred to in both shares of the play,²⁶ our business is with the other alternative, early stated in the Shakespearian part by Petruchio.

Say that she rail, why then I'll tell her plain
She sings as sweetly as a nightingale. (II. i. 171-172)

After Petruchio's announcement of plan, Kate is never again²⁷ referred to as a maker of vile noises until the two summing-up passages in the last scene. The loud noises do not stop. Petruchio in his campaign to outmatch Kate's fury (II. i. 133-134) becomes the noise maker.²⁸ He is so characterized in the Shakespearian share.²⁹

References to loud and disagreeable noises, the accompaniment of insubordination and conflict, are happily outnumbered by those that by speaking of music speak also of appropriate conduct, appropriate character, and the fine old concept of order through proper subordination.

Bianca is a textbook example of the harmonious qualities that mark a lovely daughter and a lovable girl. Her first speech revealing her as humbly content with her books and instruments of music captivates Lucentio. "Hark, Tranio!" he says, "thou may'st hear Minerva speak" (I. i. 84). Minerva was not only the goddess of wisdom but also the mythical originator of musical instruments. A sweet, agreeable person (whom Lorenzo at Belmont would approve), Bianca takes delight in "music, instruments, and poetry" (I. i. 93). She is not only harmonious within herself, but she also desires peace and tries to secure it. She says to Hortensio:

To cut off all strife, here sit we down;
Take you your *instrument*, play you the whiles;
His lecture will be done ere you have *tun'd*.
(III. i. 21-23)

Bianca already knows her gamut (III. ii. 71) as becomes such a paragon, and she prefers the old conventional music curriculum above Hortensio's inventions. It is in her expression of preference for her earlier musical training that she for once foreshadows the self-will that loses her husband a bet after marriage. The musical characterization of Bianca is all in the "non-Shakespearian" portion.

Lucentio is also by his attitude toward music (again expressed in the "non-Shakespearian" part) given a good character. Arrived in Padua, "nursery of arts" (I. i. 2), he is a man whom "Music and poesy use to quicken" (I. i. 36).

²⁵ I. i. 131, 177-178; II. 95-96, 200-210, 227-228, 254. Wintersdorf (pp. 18-19), citing Spurgeon, notes that in Shakespeare noisiness is often an attribute of Hell.

²⁶ E.g., associated with Bianca (I. i. 70, "non-Shakespearian", and II. i. 29, Shakespearian).

²⁷ Except once, remotely, in IV. ii. 58 ("non-Shakespearian"), when Tranio speaks of Petruchio's "taming school", designed "To tame a shrew and charm her chattering tongue".

²⁸ It happens that of the passages describing loud noise, seven are associated with Kate and seven with Petruchio.

²⁹ II. i. 228; III. ii. 155, 162-163, 180-181; IV. i. 187, 209-210, III. 10.

but with what he deems its bumptious misuse. Of the school that regards music Though competing with music-teaching Hortensio, he quarrels not with music as an extension of the lullaby, he insists upon his version of "the cause why music was ordain'd", namely, "to refresh the mind of man / After his studies or his usual pain" (III. i. 10-12).

Petruchio is also a friend of music, after his fashion. Of a character too boisterous for the gentle aesthetics of Bianca and Lucentio, he shows his colors by bursting into snatches of all too appropriate song. "Signior Baptista, my business asketh haste", he says, then explains himself in a line from a ballad, "And every day I cannot come to woo" (II. i. 115-116). With a ballad refrain he announces his plans to a reluctant Kate: "We will be married o' Sunday" (II. i. 326). Kate very soon finds that life in Petruchio's home is to be enlivened with song. He orders his supper and tunes his voice with a sentiment hardly calculated to flatter a bride: "Where is the life that late I led" (IV. i. 143). Then while his boots are removed he sings of the notoriously well-fed cleric, to whet the appetite of famished Kate: "It was the friar of orders grey" (IV. i. 148-149).

It must be confessed that Petruchio's interpretation of the blessed virtue of music is neither peaceful nor genteel. Our first introduction shows him getting into a fury with Grumio and making him "sol, fa, and sing" in a fashion no progressive school of pedagogy would approve. This is a joke, of course, but like other of Shakespeare's nonsense it proves in its own absurd way close to having a method. When we find Grumio at Petruchio's home, even in the absence of his master, he does indeed sing—and as aptly as Petruchio. Arrived cold at home and thinking about the muddy experiences provided by his master, he starts warbling, then prosily misquotes the old catch about burning Scotland: "Fire, fire; cast on no water" (IV. i. 20-21). When Curtis, assuring him that fire is ready, begs for news, he responds, "Why, 'Jack, boy! ho! boy!' and as much news as thou wilt" (IV. i. 43-44). Again Grumio starts with a burst of song, then trails off into prose before the end of his first line. But the stanza of the familiar catch has to be in mind if the "as much news as thou wilt" is to convey its sense. It runs thus:

Jack, boy, ho! boy, news;
The cat is in the well,
Let us ring now for her knell,
Ding, dong, ding, dong, bell.⁸⁰

Cat and Kate must be homonymic⁸¹ to justify the pun in the lines

For I am he am born to tame you Kate,
And bring you from a wild Kate to a Kate
Conformable as other household Kates.

(II. i. 278-280)

Grumio in the "Jack, boy" catch may be supposed, if we choose, to imply that Kate can go drown for all he cares. But Shakespeare also lets us choose ("as thou wilt") to infer that the wild Kate in Kate is meeting a fate like that of a cat in the well in order to render Kate "conformable as other household Kates". If we choose to read thus, we take Grumio's allusion as part of the main theme

⁸⁰ Quoted in Naylor, p. 91.

⁸¹ See Kökeritz, p. 98.

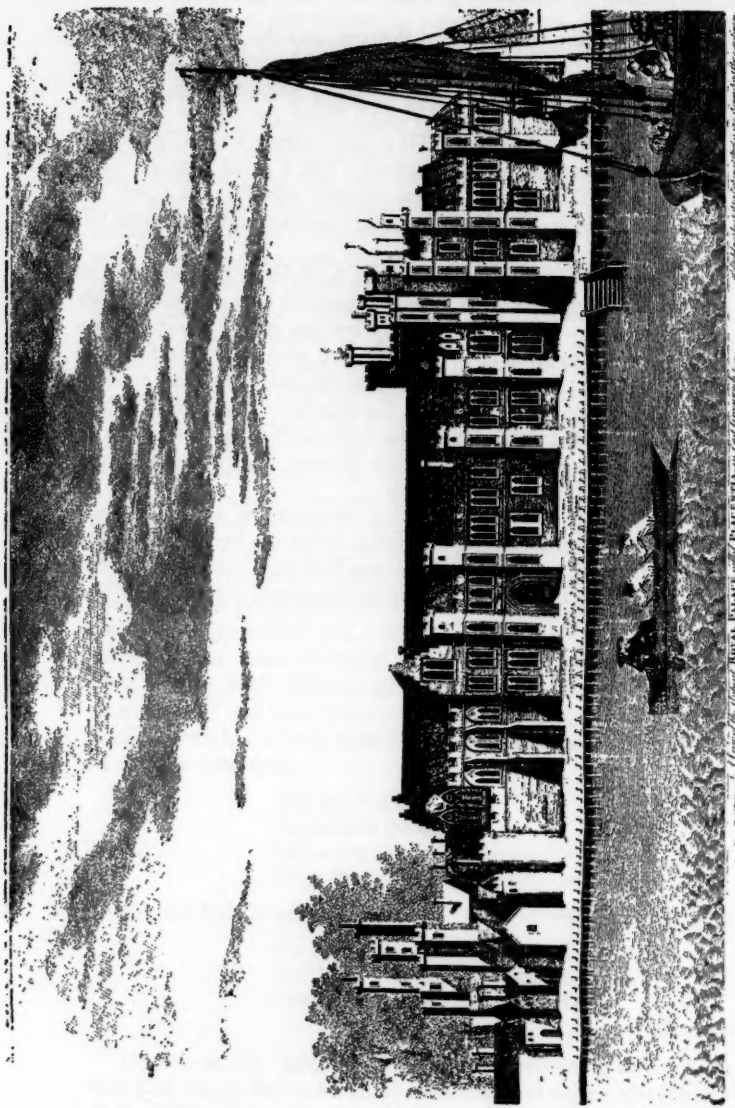
of the play. All these songs by Petruchio and Grumio are in the Shakespearian portion, the rough music lesson administered to Grumio in the "non-Shakespearian".

The summing up of the whole pattern that contrasts the disagreeable noise and the agreeable sound, the rebellious and the contented spirit, comes in Act V. At the beginning of the final scene (Shakespearian) Lucentio says, "At last, though long, our *jarring notes* agree (V.ii.1). Near the end of the scene ("non-Shakespearian") Vincentio says, "'Tis a good hearing when children are toward". To which Lucentio ruefully responds, "But a harsh hearing when women are froward" (V.ii.182-183). These passages signalize the comic triumph of a reasonable degree of order in lives and in sound, and allude, afar off, to the cosmic philosophy of music.

Our study of Shakespeare's references to music in dialogue indicates that, to a degree unique at least in the nineties, he made them not only contribute richly one at a time to the immediate matter in hand but also combine with one another even at a distance to serve large purposes in a given play. We find that puns and word-play contribute as positively as grave images to these comprehensive purposes. Our finding suggests that the superlative poetic mind which wrought great systems of imagery out of the metaphor's capacity to speak of two or more things at once operated in like manner on the pun's similar capacity. This will bear further investigation.

More specifically, our method of studying references to music for their quantity and their degree of complexity in allusion appears to have some validity in discriminating the Shakespearian from the non-Shakespearian hand, and our findings support the hypothesis that Shakespeare composed the whole of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

The University of Florida



Greenwich Palace (often called Placentia), the birthplace of Henry VIII, Mary I and Elizabeth I, was pulled down by Charles II. Reproduced from the engraving of J. Basire, published for the Society of Antiquaries in 1767. Shakespeare, Kempe, and Burbage were paid for performing here before Queen Elizabeth during Christmas, 1594. The King's Men, of whom Shakespeare was one, acted here before King James and King Christian of Denmark in the summer of 1606. See p. 256.

Elizabethan Acting in *Othello*

DANIEL SELTZER



IF ONE prohibits all undocumented theorizing on Elizabethan acting method, there remain some observations which may be made with a fair degree of accuracy on the way in which the King's Men acted *Othello*. We can observe by means of certain documents and lines in the play what aspects of such performances must have been "like". Only rarely is it possible to say precisely how this or that was done on stage, and for this reason it may be that proponents of "formal" and "realistic" acting on the Elizabethan stage should pause in their debate until such adjectives as these are redefined. Such words should be redefined, perhaps, as an Elizabethan would define them—granting the imprecise and often stereotyped usage of this specialized vocabulary in the Renaissance. Until such a study is made, with subsequent application to the plays, all that a student can do is to gather specific references which either say exactly or suggest in exact parallel in another play or document what is being done on stage at a certain place in the text.

That the production of *Othello* by Shakespeare's company was successful we may be assured, especially in such testimony as a letter from a contemporary spectator during the King's Men's visit to Oxford in 1610. Jonson's *The Alchemist* was performed—but "they had tragedies too", he wrote, "which they acted with appropriate decorum; in these they caused tears not only by their speaking, but also by their action. Indeed, Desdemona, although greatly successful throughout, moved us especially when at last, lying on her bed, killed by her husband, she implored the pity of the spectators in her death with the face alone."¹

Four aspects of production allow reasonably specific description. The first category contains some references to general matters of performance, dealing with less important considerations, some of them equally valid, perhaps, for other Elizabethan plays. The second deals with the *persona* of Iago, the third with *Othello's* speeches to the Senators and the Duke in I.iii, and the fourth with *Othello's* jealousy, and its portrayal on the Elizabethan stage.

Cocke's insistence that an actor, when "he doth hold conference upon the stage, . . . should looke directly in his fellows face",² and Kemp's criticism, in 2 *The Return from Parnassus*, of the academic players who "neuer speake in their walke, but at the end of the stage, iust as though in walking . . . we should neuer speake but at a stile, a gate, or a ditch, where a man can go no further"

¹ Quoted by Geoffrey Tillotson, "*Othello* and *The Alchemist* at Oxford", *TLS* (20 July 1933), p. 494. See Marvin Rosenberg's translation of this portion of the letter, "Elizabethan Actors: Men or Marionettes?", *PMLA*, LXIX (September, 1954), 918. The difficulties in interpreting Elizabethan terminology pertaining to acting are apparent in the sentence, "Habuerunt et Tragœdias, quas decorè, et aptè agebant"—which Mr. Rosenberg, who goes on to present his case for "realistic" acting, translates as "well and effectively acted".

² [Character of] *A common Player*, 1615. Quoted in Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 256.

(IV. iii. 3-7),³ both seem to recommend a reasonably "natural" stance for two players in dialogue, a way to move on stage something like a "real" way—even if they reveal nothing specific about methods of intonation or inflection. Considered as two basic rules perhaps too quickly taken for granted (looking at the person addressed, when appropriate to do so in dramatic situation, and moving more or less freely about the stage in the act of speaking), application becomes obvious to such scenes in *Othello* as the very first conversation of the play, or during Iago's long prose speeches in I. iii. Iago might pace the length of the stage, with variation of shorter walks, sometimes glancing at Roderigo, sometimes not; in short, much as would be done in ordinary conversation.

Nashe's request (in the Prologue to *Summer's Last Will and Testament*) that actors not at the moment otherwise occupied with the business of the play not "stroke [their] beards to make action, [or] play with [their] codpiece points", indicates that certain tendencies of some actors have remained the same for hundreds of years—but, more important, that if such inappropriate and distracting details of "small business" existed on the Elizabethan stage, such details must have been used to good effect as well. Precedent for very realistic action subsidiary to the main action (in such scenes in *Othello* as the wine-drinking in II. iii or, perhaps, the pantomimed reading of letters or maps by the Senators in I. iii) is a stage direction in *A Woman Killed With Kindness*: "Enter Master Frankford, as it were brushing the crumbs from his clothes with a napkin, as newly risen from supper" (at III. ii. 26). Startled reaction to a statement made unexpectedly is indicated by a stage direction in the Folio text of *Richard III* (at II. i. 79, just as Richard has announced Clarence's death): "*They all start.*" Legitimate parallels in other plays are numerous; one is Brabantio's wail, "My daughter! O, my daughter!"

Senators. [Q 1622: "All."] Dead?

Brabantio. Ay, to me.

(I. iii. 57-59)

Perhaps the effect of rapid prevention of a mimed attempt to speak, as in Hal's "Reply not to me with a fool-born jest" (2 *Henry IV*, V. v. 59)—suggesting that Falstaff has opened his mouth to say something⁴—might be employed during Iago's "Put money in thy purse" refrain in I. iii. The speech is very long, and Roderigo (and the actor playing him) could not find it an easy matter to remain without business throughout. In II. i, Iago's extempore rhymes are for the amusement of Desdemona, and perhaps for Cassio and even Emilia; but that the Gentlemen present might have ad libbed other soundless action, politely paying no attention to those of higher station in private conversation, is suggested in a stage direction in *The Two Noble Ladies*, and *The Converted Coniurer*: "All this is . . . private disc[ourse] betwixt Lys[ander,] Clitophon, I[ustina,] and Cyprian . . . The rest [not] to minde."⁵ Finally, realistic stage effects involving being wet in rain, found in *Pericles* II. i. 1 ("Enter *Pericles*, wet"), *The Tempest* I. i. 53 ("Enter *Mariners* wet"), *The Witch of Edmonton* III. i. 130 ("Enter [Clown] wet"), and *Doctor Faustus*, line 1148 ("Enter Horse-

³ Cited by John R. Brown, "On the Acting of Shakespeare's Plays", *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXXIX (1953), 481.

⁴ That this effect seems required by the line was suggested to me by Professor Alfred Harbage.

⁵ R. G. Rhoads, ed., *Malone Society Reprints*, 1930, p. 81. And see comment in Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses* (Oxford, 1931), II, 279.

courser all wet, crying"), suggest that the Gentlemen who describe the storm, and enter from the harbor in II.i, should be literally soaked—or at least wear wet outer cloaks.

In *Richard III*, the young Prince, newly arrived in London, and missing his uncles the Lords Rivers and Grey, is told by his most powerful uncle that "the untainted virtue of [his] years" is too naïve, that it

Hath not yet div'd into the world's deceit.
No more can you distinguish of a man
Than of his outward show; which, God he knows
Seldom or never jumpeth with the heart. (III. i. 8-12)

This is not orthodox instruction, although it would not have been considered unwholesome for a prince to know. The orthodox idea was, of course, that appearances were in fact very good signs to the inner nature of a man. Peter Bembo's passionate belief that "the outwarde beautie [is] a true signe of the inwarde goodnesse . . . as in trees, in which the beautie of the buddes giveth a testimonie of the goodnesse of the fruite" (*The Courtier*, IV), was a commonplace echoed in innumerable writings, such as Lemnius' *The Touchstone of Complexions* (1581):

[Not] only in the inward mynd of man, do . . . ornamentes and giftes of nature appeare & expressly shew out themselves but euen in the outward shew, shape and behauour of the body . . . the countenance, which is the image of the mynde . . . the eyes, which are the bewrayers and tokentellers of the inwarde conceiptes; in the colour, lineamentes, proportion and feature of the whole body.⁶

This orthodox view appeared in the drama, however, only as it was to be accepted by comically duped or tragically betrayed characters; indeed, if any aspect of this idea may be called a dramatic "convention", it is that its reverse gave impetus to more action and plot-lines in Elizabethan drama than almost any other notion. Hamlet learns that at least in Denmark, a man "may smile, and smile, and be a villain"; and Alsemero, in *The Changeling*, shows the relation of usage to the Elizabethan love of paradox (which made the expression of such a turnabout pleasurable in the drama) when, referring to women, he cries, "O cunning devils! / How should blind men know you from fair-fac'd saints?" (V.iii.110-111). Iago very early gives warning:

For when my outward action doth demonstrate
The native act and figure of my heart
In complement extern, 'tis not long after
But I will wear my heart upon my sleeve
For daws to peck at. I am not what I am. (I. i. 61-65)

and, later:

Divinity of hell!
When devils will their blackest sins put on,
They do suggest at first with heavenly shows,
As I do now. (II. iii. 356-359)

⁶ Sig. E4^r; quoted by Reginald Foakes, "The Player's Passion", *Essays and Studies*: 1954 (London, 1954), p. 64.

The audience of any production of *Othello* knows very well what his "inward conceits" are; the problem is to guess as accurately as possible the form his "outward action" and "heavenly shows" would take, in acting method. That they would be exactly opposite the truth goes without saying. It may not be too great an over-simplification to say that part of such "outward action" of deception must have been—quite literally—to *smile*. We have Hamlet's testimony to this effect, and there is Richard Gloucester's "Why, I can smile, and murder whiles I smile" (3 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 182). The word could not have been chosen by accident, and its implication is probably that villains like Iago, Claudius, and Richard III could not only "frame [their] face[s] to all occasions", but that in doing so they appeared to be very cheerful, good-natured, pleasant men. Iago's epithet in Othello's mind is "honest", and Iago himself takes every opportunity to use the word: "As I am an honest man, I thought you had receiv'd some bodily wound . . .", and so on. He cultivates the impression of a plain, blunt soldier: "I lack iniquity / Sometimes to do me service." Possible quotations from the role are numerous, but perhaps the best description of such a character is Cornwall's inaccurate opinion of Kent, in *Lea*:⁷

This is some fellow
Who, having been prais'd for bluntness, doth affect
A saucy roughness, and constrains the garb
Quite from his nature. He cannot flatter, he!
An honest mind and plain—he must speak truth!
An they will take it, so; if not, he's plain.
These kind of knaves I know which in this plainness
Harbour more craft and more corrupter ends
Than twenty silly-ducking observants
That stretch their duties nicely. (II. ii. 101-110)

Granted that little or none of this tells us "how" Iago should read his lines, it does make quite clear how he should not read them, and that is something. Considering as well the emphasis on roughness, frankness, and an honest lack of polish, all professed by Iago to be his true traits, we should remember that his speech, like Richard III's, is often highly colloquial. Phrases in Richard's part like "Hoyday, a riddle!" (IV. iv. 459) find their way into Iago's talk in the large quantity of conversational prose he speaks; the tone created by Richard's often homely, likable lines has its equivalent in Iago's familiar and friendly rhythms—his own brand of the "diction of common life". Realizing the direction his speech will take, we must remember that his mask, his *persona*, is completed by the fact that he is a soldier—and that (to use Heywood's words), he will be "shap'd like a souldier, walke, speake, act like a souldier."⁸ It is, of course, the "like" which will give us pause; but once more, there are hints: the *miles gloriosus* is not so distant a relation, even as he appears in Parolles or Falstaff.

When Queen Mab "driveth o'er a soldier's neck", Mercutio tells us,

. . . then dreams he of cutting foreign throats,
Of breaches, ambuscadoes, Spanish blades,

⁷ Cf. Theodore Spencer, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (New York, 1949), pp. 131-132.

⁸ *An Apology for Actors*, ca. 1608. Quoted in Chambers, IV, 251.

Of healths five fadom deep; and then anon
 Drums in his ear, at which he starts and wakes,
 And being thus frighted, swears a prayer or two
 And sleeps again. (*Romeo* I. iv. 82-88)

Such are Hotspur's dreams, according to Lady Percy. And Jacques adds to the mask; the soldier is

Full of strange oaths and bearded like the pard,
 Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,
 Seeking the bubble reputation
 Even in the cannon's mouth. (*AYL* II. vii. 150-153)

Very little of this (once more) applies specifically to Iago. Iago's most important dream is not about "iron wars", and his cynical definitions of honor, in II. iii, are not in keeping with Jacques' description; they are, however, very like Falstaff's catechism. The swagger, self-confidence, and friendly good humor, give some indication of the stance of the character on stage, which, combined with the formal purpose of his talk, must say something, if little, about how the role might have been acted.⁹

There is something in the verbal point of Iago's six soliloquies which makes parts of all of them seem to be set in direct address to an audience. Professor S. L. Bethell has observed this quality, and has written that "it is a delicate matter to distinguish [the] respective tones"—in Iago's, and other soliloquies in Elizabethan drama.¹⁰ That direct address may have existed in such soliloquies is not only a "delicate matter" for conjecture; it is probably impossible to prove. But, as Bethell points out, beginning with the "Deus sum" of the York, Chester, and Towneley cycles, there is a tradition for such address. There is Avarice, in *Respublica* (?1553):

But now what my name is, and what my purpose—
 Taking you all for friends—I fear not to disclose . . .

and, from Bale's *King Johan*:

To shew what I am I thynke yt conveyent:
 Johan, Kyng of Ynglond, the cronyclys doth me call.

Ambidexter, the Vice in *Cambises*, often confides in the audience. Furthermore (if it were an objection to begin with) such a technique did not make a scene "unreal" in Elizabethan terms. As John R. Brown has observed, the Elizabethan players "did not address the audience as if it were in another world"¹¹—a real and tangibly calculated advantage of the apron stage. The soliloquy of direct address is closely related to those prologues which contain specific reference to

⁹ Bertram Joseph's comments on characters in Elizabethan drama who "are" not what they "seem" to be, reveal that the oratorical handbooks have very little that is specifically useful to say on the subject (*Elizabethan Acting*, Oxford, 1951, pp. 105-107). It is possible, by the way, that one indication of the "truth" about Iago set forth on the Elizabethan stage, would be the color of his beard—a blondish red. Such a color in hair, specifically in a beard, would be used to represent treachery, being "of Iudas his owne collour" (*Spanish Tragedy* III. xii-a. 130). Cf. *Bonduca* II. iii. 81: "That . . . fellow . . . with a red beard (Corporal Judas)" and *Insatiate Countess* II. ii. 38: "by his red beard, he would prove a Judas". See M. Channing Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Oxford, 1936), p. 43.

¹⁰ *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition* (London, 1944), p. 87.

¹¹ Brown, p. 479.

reaction in the audience to the subject matter of the play to follow, prologues which carry an "explanatory" tone—like Machiavel's, for *The Jew of Malta*, or the armed Prologue to Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. Such direct (or partially direct) address is also related to innumerable speeches of explanation and almost parenthetical exposition within the plays themselves. A good example of such character "lapse" is in *Othello* II. i. Fearing that her attention to Iago's rhymes may cause her to appear careless of her husband's safety at sea, Desdemona says, to no one in particular, "I am not merry; but I do beguile / The thing I am by seeming otherwise." The speech does not ring false (perhaps because it is so short?), but it is pure and purposeful explanation. It seems intended for an audience's benefit, and its dramatic method and the "stance" of the words in relation to the spectators seem quite the same as Iago's

And what's he then that says I play the villain,
When this advice is free I give and honest,
Probal to thinking, and indeed the course
To win the Moor again? (II. iii. 342-345)

The difference is in subject matter only; here, if anywhere, I think, Iago actually speaks to the audience. His other soliloquies contain nothing so definite, but there is an explanatory tone as well in "Thus do I ever make my fool my purse"; "That Cassio loves her, I do well believe it"; and especially in such revelations of plans as

Two things are to be done:
My wife must move for Cassio to her mistress;
I'll set her on; (II. iii. 388-390)

and

Now will I question Cassio of Bianca,
A huswife that by selling her desires
Buys herself bread and clothes. It is a creature
That dotes on Cassio, as 'tis the strumpet's plague
To beguile many and be beguil'd by one.
He, when he hears of her, cannot refrain
From the excess of laughter. Here he comes. (IV. i. 94-100)

Bethell notes the kind of speech which begins in what appears to be expository direct address, but shifts, before it ends, to the standard "thinking aloud" purpose of soliloquies in general.¹² He cites Iago's soliloquy ending I. iii as an example of this sort of speech, but a better example might have been the very short soliloquy at the beginning of the last act:

I have rubb'd this young quat almost to the sense,
And he grows angry. Now whether he kill Cassio,
Or Cassio him, or each do kill the other,
Every way makes my game. Live Roderigo,
He calls me to a restitution large
Of gold and jewels that I bobb'd from him
As gifts to Desdemona.
It must not be. If Cassio do remain,

¹² Bethell, pp. 87-89.

He hath a daily beauty in his life
That makes me ugly; and besides, the Moor
May unfold me to him; there stand I in much peril. (V.i. 11-21)

Within the formal *persona* of Iago there is a world of detail and variety; but that his construction is in sum a recognizable emblem becomes clear long before Othello looks "down towards his feet". In II.i, the meeting of Othello and Desdemona is set in imagistic terms as the harmony of the spheres:

And this, and this, the greatest discords be
That e're our hearts shall make!

Iago stands to one side and speaks out:

O, you are well tun'd now!
But I'll set down the pegs that make this music,
As honest as I am.

Eden is here Venus' Cyprian isle. The visual emblem, more terrifying with the recognition of Iago's full *persona*, is conscious dramatic artifice, complete only as realized in the theatre. The same kind of artifice arranges in *Richard II* a stage picture of two Renaissance ideas dramatically powerful precisely because of their commonplace nature. Richard himself brings Bolingbroke's hand to one side of the crown, forces him to hold it, and then—"Here, cousin, seize the crown. / Here, cousin, / On this side my hand, and on that side yours"—quickly removes his own.¹⁸ Before the eyes of an Elizabethan audience were emblems of the sinful deposition of a king and of the part played in such action by Fortune's wheel. These physical emblems, constructed on stage from the living bodies of the actors, as well as from their words, seem to have been appropriate to a highly episodic drama, "formal" in its division and correspondences of ideas—but requiring a presentation of detail as varied as the theatrical situations themselves were "conventional".

An examination of the development in Othello's role will reveal that Shakespeare allowed himself comparatively little time to establish the Moor's often-remarked nobility. He hardly appears at all in Act II, and his speeches to Desdemona on landing at Cyprus are short and sweet. In the brawl, later in the act, he is efficient and commanding, but the speeches deal more with his influence on the plot than with dramatic discussion of his own character. And in the next "episode" (III.iii), he begins to fall. The sweep and majesty of his nature are evident always, of course, in such speeches as the "Pontic Sea" oath—but these become more and more like speeches by Antony. Most of them are quite short. We begin to see (and hear) what Othello is in his "Keep up your bright swords, for the dew will rust them", and "Were it my cue to fight, I should have known it / Without a prompter." But on the Elizabethan stage, Othello was black, the devil's color, and it would have been in his speeches to

¹⁸ Cf. Alice Venezky's remarks on formal stylization in this scene, *Pageantry on the Shakespearean Stage* (New York, 1951), pp. 131-132. Such emblems as these in *Richard II* and *Othello* are reinforced in the cumulative imagery of the plays; see Arthur Suzman, "Imagery and Symbolism in *Richard II*", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, VII (Autumn 1956), 355-370. For a discussion of various forms of expressing the effects of the wheel of Fortune, see Raymond Chapman, "The Wheel of Fortune in Shakespeare's Historical Plays", *Review of English Studies*, new series, I (January, 1950), 1.

the Duke and Senators that the audience accepted his exotic *persona* of Christian warrior. These are indeed "set" speeches, and would have been delivered with an awareness of rhetorical structure—here certain lessons of the art of oratory would do yeoman's service for the actor, although his utilization of specific details might be less likely.

Othello himself says,

Rude am I in my speech,
And little bless'd with the soft phrase of peace; (I. iii. 81-82)

He can speak little more "of this great world" than "pertains to feats of broil and battle";—but once he has said these things, the fact that he says them in such a way is more important than the admission itself: obviously Othello is not inarticulate. Such words are part of a noble humility, a modesty commendable in men of authority. Basically, in fact, they are not far from the attractive aspect of Iago's "bluff honesty". The longer speech, beginning, "Her father lov'd me, oft invited me", moves (as it did for Desdemona) pity without pathos, a respect for Othello's whole "pilgrimage". The speech invites Duncan's words to the wounded Sergeant, "So well thy words become thee as thy wounds; / They smack of honour both." In "The Character of an Excellent Actor", probably by Webster, the actor of great talent is likened to "the graue Orator . . . for by a full and significant action of body, he charmes our attention."¹⁴ It is interesting that Shakespeare chose similar words to describe the elder statesman of the Greeks, practicing the arts of persuasion:

There pleading might you see grave Nestor stand,
As 'twere encouraging the Greeks to fight,
Making such sober action with his hand
That it beguil'd attention, charm'd the sight.

(Lucrece, ll. 1401-1404)

The "full and significant" action of Othello's body while addressing the Duke and Senators would probably include some such "sober action" of the hand, but the "signification" of his nobility is as much in his words as in bodily stance. Generally speaking, the rhetorical handbooks are suggestive in such a case, but they collapse as guides when one tries to apply them line by line. Perhaps it is enough to recognize that the tone of these speeches is definitely "oratorical", and to suggest that they were probably delivered sonorously, slowly, and with great attention to the logic with which series of *exempla* are built up, dealing with Othello's adventures, for instance, with great vocal point given to such "bridge" phrases in the poetic sentences as, "Which I observing, / Took once a pliant hour" (I. iii. 150-151) and "Yet, by your gracious patience, / I will a round unvarnish'd tale deliver . . ." (89-90). Even if we can never be sure of Burbage's exact movements while playing Othello, we do know that his "action" must have been "full and significant" of Othello's "speculative and offic'd instruments": his authoritative positions as a Christian governor and husband.

The violence with which Othello's jealousy would have been expressed on the Elizabethan stage is unquestionable. Even as it appears in the lines of the play read silently, it fits too well into a kind of emblem of its own to suggest

¹⁴ 1615. Quoted by Chambers, IV, 257.

anything but the most conventional histrionic treatment, identical with many contemporary descriptions of love maladies.

The face of the Elizabethan actor playing any heroic (or villainous) role would have been extremely expressive, and capable of "large" facial *gestures*. One has the impression that such "faces" may even have been moderately played. Describing a young fop drawing at his pipe, Middleton says he is "screwing his face like one of our country players, which must needs make him look like a fool."¹⁵ Although this stage technique was no doubt overdone by less skillful actors, Lady Macbeth's question—"Why do you make such faces?"—tells us that the heroic Elizabethan actor used his face to express great fear, great agony, or other "big" (or sudden) emotions. Here, the being-seeming theoretical contradiction noted above probably did not exist. Reginald Foakes has noted that "in rejecting the detailed application [of Elizabethan 'psychology'] to the detailed presentation of character in drama,] it is easy to forget or reject also what is more important, the general habit of thought from which the detail springs, the habit of categorising things and people in a fixed scale of values, affording correspondences in all aspects of the universe."¹⁶ For example, in the expression of happiness or fear, La Primaudaye said, "the heart doeth so enlarge it selfe, that it is represented in the face, as it were in a glasse, or in an image framed to expresse the ioy and gladnes which it hath."¹⁷

The angry questions Othello puts to Desdemona at the end of III. iv provoke Emilia's question, "Is not this man jealous?" They have been "stock" questions, and would have been accompanied with similarly categorical gestures and looks. Generally, Othello's role at this point in the action falls into the category called "hastie", in the Prologue to the manuscript play, *The Cyprian Conqueror*, requiring "fumeing, & scratching y^e head &c. . ."¹⁸ But there is a more detailed source book for description of the violently jealous man. After noting that "your bravest soldiers and most generous spirits are [most readily] enervated with [the passions of Heroical Love] when they surrender to feminine blandishments" (*The Anatomy of Melancholy*, III. 2. 1. 1.), Burton goes on to describe the effects of such passions when they become corrupted with jealousy; it is a very "theatrical" description:

Besides those strange gestures of staring, frowning, grinning, rolling of eyes, menacing, ghastly looks, broken pace, interrupt, precipitate, half-turns . . . [he] will sometimes sigh, weep, sob for anger, swear and belie, slander any man, curse, threaten, brawl, scold, fight, and sometimes flatter, and speak fair . . . and then, eftsoons, impatient as he is, rave, roar, and lay about him like a mad man, thump her sides, drag her about perchance . . . his eye is never off hers; he gloats . . . on her, accurately observing on whom she looks, who looks at her, what she saith, doth, at dinner, at supper, sitting, walking, at home, abroad, he is the same, still inquiring, . . . affrighted with every small object; why did she smile, why did she pity him, commend him? . . . a whore, a whore, an arrant whore! (III. 3. 2.)

When Desdemona tells her husband, "And yet I fear you; for you are fatal then / When your eyes roll so" (V. ii. 37-38), no actor, Elizabethan or not, is

¹⁵ *Father Hubbards Tales* (1604); *Works*, ed. Bullen (London, 1885), VIII, 73.

¹⁶ Foakes, p. 65.

¹⁷ *The Second Part of the French Academie* (1604); quoted by Foakes, p. 64.

¹⁸ Quoted by Alfred Harbage, *Theatre for Shakespeare* (Toronto, 1955), p. 109.

meant to be rolling his eyes, of course; but the effect would be imagined by an Elizabethan audience as an expected concomitant to the others in the catalogue. Many "stage directions" in Burton's list find their way into the action of Othello's stage life. There is weeping: "Alas the heavy day! Why do you weep?" (IV. ii. 42). "Ghastly looks": "Alas, why gnaw you so your nether lip? / Some bloody passion shakes your very frame. These are portents; . . ." (V. ii. 43-45).¹⁹ Sarcastic flattery: "I cry you mercy then. / I took you for that cunning whore of Venice / That married with Othello . . ." (IV. ii. 87-90). Othello's fit (IV. i. 35-45) is an expected part of his damaged *persona*—or, rather, of his total action. So many "standard" aspects of this jealousy appear in so many words in the text, that we may be justified in suggesting that the others (or some of them) were incorporated in Elizabethan production of the play.

Roaring out his passion will not always be the case; Shakespearian use of "convention" is never unvaried. When Desdemona gently reproaches Othello for being tardy at dinner, he answers, "I am to blame"—and her reply tells us much: "Why do you speak so faintly?" (III. iii. 282). It is not that one would not have guessed as much, but proof in so many words is not easy to find in any of the plays, even in such cases as this, where one is certain he is correct beforehand. More important, the passage is legitimate documentation for similar interpretation of parallel lines or situations in other plays.

Finally, we may take a cue from Burton's description of "broken pace" and "half-turns" for a jealous man, and, after glancing at a scene from *Henry VIII*, return to *Othello* with a better notion of appropriate stage business for such movements. After Wolsey's speech about Anne Bullen (III. ii. 94-104), Norfolk says, "He is vex'd at something." The Cardinal's speech of annoyance and angry frustration is quite explicit, but Norfolk, Surrey, and Suffolk, standing by on stage, obviously have not "heard" it, and it is Wolsey's stage business which tells them he is "vex'd". This business is described by Norfolk, when the King asks for Wolsey:

My lord, we have
 Stood here observing him. Some strange commotion
 Is in his brain. He bites his lip and starts,
 Stops on a sudden, looks upon the ground,
 Then lays his finger on his temple; straight
 Springs out into a fast gait, then stops again,
 Strikes his breast hard, and anon he casts
 His eye against the moon. In most strange postures
 We have seen him set himself. (III. ii. 111-119)

The emotions of Wolsey and Othello are not the same, of course; but the details of business accompanying the "broken pace" for jealousy and that for Wolsey's anger ("There is a mutiny in's mind", says Henry), may not have been noticeably different.

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¹⁹ Cf. Catesby's line in *Richard III*, IV. ii. 27: "The King is angry. See, he gnaws his lip."

Brutus and the Death of Portia

BRENTS STIRLING

DISCUSSION of an old problem must begin with familiar facts. In *Julius Caesar* IV. iii. 143-196, just after the violent quarrel scene, Cassius declares to Brutus: "Of your philosophy you make no use/ If you give place to accidental evils." The reply, "No man bears sorrow better; Portia is dead", is timed not only to complete the drama of an already strong episode but to elevate Brutus to stoical sainthood with no accompanying taint of priggishness. Complication soon develops, however, with the arrival of Messala, who bears news; he and Brutus exchange contradictory information on the number of proscribed senators, and the scene continues with a strange redisclosure of Portia's death:

Mes. Had you your letters from your wife, my lord?

Bru. No, Messala.

Mes. Nor nothing in your letters writ of her?

Bru. Nothing, Messala.

Mes.

That, methinks, is strange.

Bru. Why ask you? Hear you ought of her in yours?

Mes. No, my lord.

Bru. Now, as you are a Roman, tell me true.

Mes. Then like a Roman bear the truth I tell:

For certain she is dead, and by strange manner.

Bru. Why, farewell, Portia. We must die, Messala:

With meditating that she must die once,

I have the patience to endure it now.

Messala responds, of course, with solemn admiration for the stoical Brutus: "Even so great men great losses should endure." It is remarkable, however, that Cassius, already awed by Brutus' previous demonstration of fortitude, and quite aware that the lines to Messala repeat it with falsehood and histrionic effect, should now equal Messala in reverence addressed to Brutus: "I have as much of this in art as you,/ But yet my nature could not bear it so."

All students of the play know that editors, faced with an alternative of finding Brutus both untruthful and self-aggrandized in his conduct with Messala, have assumed that the double recitation of Portia's death is composed of separate Shakespearian versions of the disclosure, only one of which (the first, to Cassius) was finally intended to stand in the text. Both versions, however, are supposed to have slipped into the Folio. But there is no real textual evidence of rewriting, interpolation or excision; so our basis for this clearing of the difficulty must be that the roles played by Brutus in the two situations do not together make sense, and/or that his double role renders him fraudulent and smug in a way Shakespeare could not have intended. Our question remains, therefore, as

one of consistency within the scene and integrity within the central character.

Warren D. Smith, the most recent and the most ingenious interpreter of this episode,¹ has given us a critical survey of publication on the subject, and I am in debt to him for an opportunity to save space by referring readers to his essay for background. His solution of the problem, moreover, furnishes a good beginning point for discussion.

"In opposition to the unsupported theorizing of the past", Mr. Smith resorts to Plutarch. He notes a "strange discrepancy" in the number of senators put to death by proscription in North's accounts of Cicero, Antonius, and Brutus, and observes that from this Shakespeare drew his disagreement between the number of executed senators found in Brutus' and Messala's letters (lines 171-178 of the scene before us). He finds also that Plutarch provides two reports, one of them false, of Portia's death. The first, the mistaken one, comes to Brutus just prior to Caesar's murder and is received by him in the stoical manner. Mr. Smith draws his conclusions; he believes that

because [Shakespeare] was impressed also with the account in North of the false report given to Brutus that Portia was dying, . . . he capitalized on the variance in proscription figures by employing it as dramatic motivation for a brief revival of hope in the breast of Brutus that Portia lived. Other scenes of *Julius Caesar* bear witness to the influence of North's emphasis upon the role of Error in the story. (P. 154)

Here, then, is the way Mr. Smith believes the scene is written. As Brutus (lines 175-178) gathers that his letters and Messala's disagree on the number of senators proscribed, he experiences the impulsive hope that they may not agree in another matter. Portia may yet be living. Brutus now hears Messala's first question: "Had you your letters from your wife, my lord?" And, "at the instant when he is most hopeful that his wife lives" (p. 158), Brutus counters Messala's second question ("Nor nothing in your letters writ of her?") with "Why ask you? / Hear you aught of her in yours?" Messala's letters may contradict his, and Messala may be assuming that Portia herself sent news of the proscribed senators. But something in Messala's response, "No, my lord", reveals that he is shamming to save his master's feelings, so that Brutus, his hopes dashed with what is now a double blow, nevertheless makes a remarkable recovery in lines which end the episode.

But why does Brutus lie to Messala; why does he deny that he has heard nothing in "letters writ of" Portia? Because, Mr. Smith believes, he chooses to be selflessly tactful, and as such he is entirely in character. At the start of the quarrel scene with Cassius he insists upon withdrawing from the assembled army lest discord between the commanders be observed (IV. ii. 41-47); he withholds news of the senators' proscription for the sake of morale; and after the visitation of Caesar's ghost he falsely tells his servants that they have cried out in their sleep—a test to assure himself that they have witnessed nothing discouraging (IV. iii. 296-306). It is Brutus' wise and consistent practice to keep disturbing news from his subordinates. Therefore he lies to Messala.

First, Mr. Smith's reliance upon Plutarch. This is somewhat unsettling; it is interesting that Shakespeare may have found in North two accounts of

¹ "The Duplicate Revelation of Portia's Death", *SQ* IV (1953), 153-161.

Portia's death, one of them mistaken, but the false one is quite separate from and unrelated to the true one. To what extent does this illuminate Shakespeare's use of a single, true account twice within a passage of fifty lines? The only relation seems to be that the quantity two is involved in any duplicate revelation, and that *if* Shakespeare presents Brutus entertaining notions of a false report concerning Portia, there is a dissimilar false report in Plutarch to match it. As for the number of proscribed senators, it is true that North is inconsistent in three separate Lives, but why need we assume that this lies behind Shakespeare's simple verisimilitude in having the letters of Messala and Brutus disagree? (See *Hamlet* I.ii.237-239, *Othello* I.iii.1-12, and in fact, *Julius Caesar* I.ii.235-238 and II.i.101-111 for similar realistic devices.) Mr. Smith's elaborate use of source material leads him to a genetic hypothesis of free memory association, one of many which could be entertained, and one, moreover, which explains Shakespeare's scene only if we assume that Shakespeare responded to North in a highly specific and idiosyncratic manner. All creative minds, of course, do work in that way, but the probability inherent in assuming a single, unusual chain of free association is so low as to lack not only probative but suggestive value.

Mr. Smith's interpretation may be separated, however, from his demonstration of source material which is neither necessary nor very pertinent² as a means of establishing the interesting reading which he offers. To show that Shakespeare's lines can carry his version of the scene he relies upon staging: "The interpretation could easily be made clear in the acting" (p. 155). But he gives little prescription beyond such devices as having Brutus emphasize the first word of line 176: "*Therein* our letters do not well agree" (p. 156); so we must test this claim ourselves. I suggest that it is next to impossible for Brutus to render a three-line passage on the simple disagreement of intelligence reports (a standard and unsurprising situation during campaigns) in a way that will make the audience understand him as beginning to doubt the news of Portia's death. How is it to be done? One can only ask the question. It is possible, however, for the actor reading line 185 ("Why ask you? Hear you aught of her in yours?") to convey for the first time a sudden and pathetic hope that Portia lives; and the transparent embarrassment in Messala's false answer, "No, my lord", could lead to the poignant dashing of Brutus' surmise. This is important, but it would support instead of Mr. Smith's reading the much simpler one of Verity (1895), who, Mr. Smith states (p. 156), "nearly hit upon" his interpretation.

The next task for the actor would be to reveal that Brutus fends off Messala with a lie and then receives the already known news with a Stoic's fortitude in order to maintain morale among his subordinates. This is not explicit in the text; so Mr. Smith relies upon Brutus' similar conduct elsewhere in the play. He has withheld the fearful conspiracy from Portia, and he has not revealed until just now the proscription of senators. Yet we may doubt that the former act is analogous to withholding news from Messala; and although Brutus' reticence about proscription is a "fact", it is still not a fact in stage presentation

² Even though he states (p. 154) that a consideration of Shakespeare's text with reference to its source "demonstrates" both that the text is authentic and that Shakespeare intended the passage to show Brutus' "unselfishness, fortitude, and able generalship".

because one has to look back over the text to verify not the presence of material but its absence. Mr. Smith also finds that Brutus employs falsehood to make certain that his servants have not seen Caesar's ghost. But even if the absence of a stage direction means that the servants do not cry out in their sleep, we must remember that the ghost scene comes after the scene in question and can be of no aid to the actor there.³

Mr. Smith's strong point, however, is that the quarrel with Cassius, which leads to the Brutus-Messala episode, actually begins with Brutus' order for withdrawal into the tent lest the army be upset by the quarrel. Is this not pointed in its preparation for a Brutus who will conceal news of Portia's death from Messala, and who will be praised by Cassius for his "art" in doing so? Perhaps we may agree until we read the scene with a view to its effect on an audience. In the first place, the tempestuous quarrel intervenes with some 180 lines between the two "concealments". The scene is as engrossing as any in Shakespeare and the chances of an audience remembering a short passage which initially hides the quarrel from the army are remote. If we waive this difficulty, however, another appears. Brutus conceals his difference with Cassius from "the armies" (IV.ii.43) but is quite open about it to officers of Messala's rank. IV.ii actually begins with lines in which Brutus airs his troubles with Cassius forthrightly to Lucilius, Titinius, and Pindarus; and on withdrawing to the "Tent" he orders Lucilius and Titinius to stand guard, which means that they remain within hearing of the quarrel. That these officers stay at their post is evident from their attempt to exclude the poet who demands entrance (IV.iii.124-128). Although it is plain that Brutus hides his dispute from the general soldiery, it is equally plain that he is unconcerned about it being known to those of Messala's position. From the beginning of IV.ii-iii everything seems progressively designed to show that Brutus is most open in dealing with his immediate "staff". There is hence little analogy between his concealment of the quarrel from the armies and his later concealment of Portia's death from Messala.

One thing more needs to be said of Mr. Smith's interpretation, and it extends as well to any theory which enhances Brutus by providing a lofty motive for his deceiving of Messala. It is one matter to explain Brutus' false denial that he has heard of Portia (most interpreters are concerned with his falsehood only), but it is quite another to explain why, after he leads Messala himself into a lie (lines 185-186), he should then persist in acting out the Stoic facing Portia's death as though he had never heard of it before. This is the central difficulty which much interpretation fails to meet. It is not the lie but the pose, the allegedly gratuitous histrionics, which give trouble. If a man untruthfully denies that he has received bad news in order to spare a friend's feelings, the act is understandable and forgivable; but if he first falsely disowns the news, then causes the friend to lie, then gently exposes the friend's lie, and finally puts on a show of fortitude in hearing the truth as though he were unaware of it—this, in the absence of circumstances I shall discuss later, will seriously diminish any esteem he had previously enjoyed. What should the audience think as Brutus so "uses" Messala? Will it not wonder why, after finding him informed of the denied truth, Brutus does not simply beg his pardon? Why shouldn't he

³ The same objection applies to Mr. Smith's point (pp. 159-160) that near the end of the play Brutus directs that the funerals of Cassius "not be in our camp, / Lest it discomfort us" (V.iii.103-106).

tell him gently that he does know the sad news, has faced it, and that he bears it well? If Brutus is trying to preserve a subordinate's confidence in his commander, such conduct would inspire far more of it on Messala's part than does the course he actually follows.

One way of solving the difficulty just described is to observe that we are not dealing with "life" here but with drama in which "emblematic" rather than realistic modes of action are paramount. In such drama characters often pose in formalistic style as a part of the artistic medium and are never to be considered vain or fatuous for so doing. Witness Brutus washing his hands in Caesar's blood. In this view, the scene before us allows Brutus to "act out" the stoical role in a catechistic ceremony; moral judgment of him is relevant from the standpoint of what is acted but irrelevant concerning the formal manner of the acting. The difficulty with this explanation, however, is not that it fails to make important distinctions but that it may oversimplify the art of Shakespeare, which usually combines the emblematic and realistic modes. We should not discount the stylized and the formal in Shakespeare but neither, as an easy way out, should we underrate him on the realistic side. Can the Brutus-Cassius-Messala episode be viewed realistically? Can it be kept intact and through its own emphasis, aided byactable acting, be played so that the double disclosure of Portia's death not only makes sense but leaves Brutus unalienated from the audience?

I venture a simple interpretation which can be coupled legitimately with overtones of more complexity. It is clear that the quarrel has left Brutus in a very human state of nerves, and with an emergency to be met—the making of military plans. This crisis Shakespeare augments by ending the quarrel scene with a farcical but most telling stroke: enter in a scuffle, of all men, a rhyming moralist whose sententious jingles about friendship between generals double Cassius with laughter but grate Brutus beyond measure. The poet is "bounced", one imagines literally. Now the emergency of planning becomes apparent as Cassius gives orders for a council of war: "And come yourselves and bring Messala immediately to us." As Messala is awaited Brutus calls for wine. He nears the limit of endurance with "O Cassius, I am sick of many griefs", and, certainly unconcerned with the tactical concealment Mr. Smith finds conducive to morale, tells Cassius of Portia's death. (Note that Cassius has been, is, and will be the shakiest of his confederates.) Cassius must be allowed expostulation, but Brutus cuts it to the minimum with "Speak no more of her." As Titinius then returns with Messala, the lines make plain Brutus' intense desire to *act*, to proceed.

Come in, Titinius!⁴ Welcome, good Messala.

Now sit we close about this taper here

And call in question our necessities.

Here is relief for a man exhausted by emotionality and buffoonery—that of Cassius during the quarrel, that of the poet in his preposterous entrance and exit. Stoics too have nerves in the face of impeded action. But again the sorry matter arises at the very promise of uninterrupted attention to plans for battle: Cassius, woefully—"Portia, art thou gone?" Brutus, impatiently but with

⁴ The exclamation point is a colon in the original text. The italics in this and subsequent quotations are, of course, my own, and are simply indications of the way I think the lines should be rendered.

control—"No more, I *pray* you." Then quickly and calmly: "Messala, I have here received letters / That young Octavius and Mark Antony . . ." At last the emergency is being met and the relief of Brutus in exchanging facts instead of feelings with Messala is heart-felt as he warms to the world of potential action. But there is news of Cicero's death and Cassius bleats again—"Cicero one!" Will it never stop? Apparently not, for now comes interruptive woe from Messala himself: "Had you your letters from your wife, my lord?" A pause with a silent Brutus realizing that the question may be innocent. Then, "No, Messala" (the truth). Messala again: "Nor nothing in your letters writ of her?" A longer pause with Brutus desperately sensing that Messala knows and that funereal matters seem to have usurped the emergency council for good and all. Then the impulsive and decisive lie (Messala might possibly drop the matter): "Nothing, Messala." But Messala will not drop it: "That methinks is strange." Brutus must now either compound disruption of the council table by explaining himself, or simply ask Messala what he knows: "Hear you aught of her in yours?" And Messala turns witless in the crisis: "No, my lord." Here is the crux of the scene, marked with a pause as the audience is allowed to sense Brutus' anguish at the turn things have taken. Can I do nothing to stop this agonizing and time-consuming talk of bereavement? I have actually intensified it by lying to him; now *he* is lugubriously lying to me, with the eyes of everyone upon us for the outcome. Shall I tell him or let him tell me? "Now as you are a Roman, tell me true." But Messala will not play it straight. He seizes the theatrical possibility in Brutus' words by directing him in turn to receive the news like a Roman, and Brutus has little choice but to act it out. This, granting the circumstances, he does with actual simplicity: "Why, farewell, *Portia*. We must die, Messala." From past meditation that she must die, he can endure it now.

Finally Messala: "Even so great men great losses should endure." It is implicit in most interpretation either that Brutus must be pleased here at Messala's naive admiration or gratified because a stratagem has worked. I suggest instead that we see him with head bowed at the humiliating praise which closes a scene produced partly by nerves, partly by Messala's own refusal to be truthful, partly by ordinary human ineptitude, and mainly by frustrated haste toward practical action. Earlier I mentioned possible overtones, and I suggest but one as an example—Mark Hunter's perception that Brutus cannot face the airing of private grief in a public assemblage (*Variorum*, p. 224). Unlike the interpretation here offered, which is confined to elements that I think are "given", Hunter's is not clearly implied in the text. But it can be acted and is in no way inconsistent with the reading just recommended.

Cassius by this time understands. He approaches Brutus and says gently, "I have as much of this in art as you, / But yet my nature could not bear it so." It is unlikely that "art" here means skill in buoying Messala's morale, or in practicing Stoicism (the standard interpretation⁵). What Cassius is trying to say may be something like this: when everything seems to go wrong, including my own sorry improvising, I too have the art of saving a situation. But I could never have borne this as you have borne it. The Epicurean Cassius in any event would scarcely claim a stoical "art" equal to Brutus', but he well knows that public men must endure ignominy which is partly of their own making, and

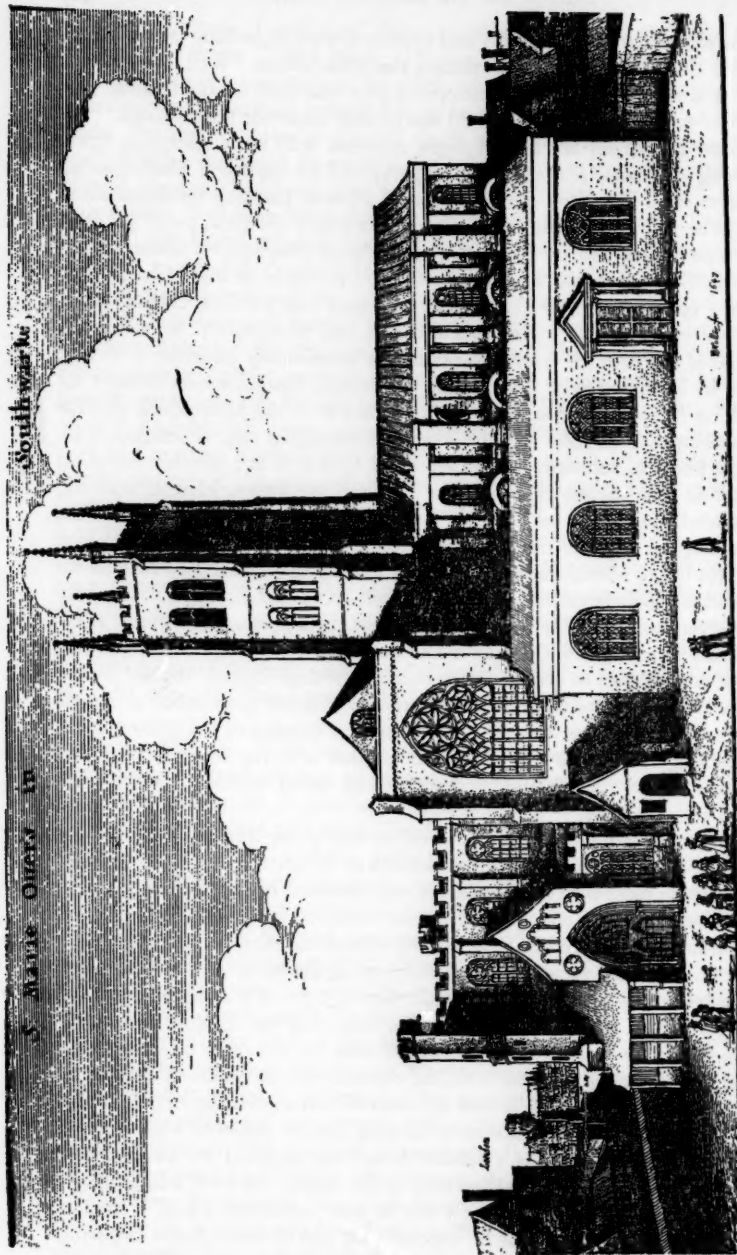
⁵ For example, in the editions of Kittredge, Neilson and Hill, and G. B. Harrison.

must be able to turn it both deftly and quickly toward something better. Brutus does just this in the line which resumes the main action: "Well, to our work alive." It is worth noting that Shakespeare thus concludes on the familiar note of Brutus' overriding desire to act. At last he may begin the task at hand.

I know I have devoted several pages, complete with stage directions, italics for acting emphasis, and generous empathy—all to explain a Shakespearian episode of some fifty lines. If I have rivalled Hyman Kaplan's intuitions about a "Julius Scissor" in his tent outside Rome, it is partly my fault, partly the fault of previous critics, and partly the responsibility of Shakespeare, whose insight often involves superb mischief. It appears that he chose in these fifty lines to exhibit a central character under very awkward and peculiar circumstances. If we like we may react to the awkwardness, and idiosyncrasy, by moral disapproval of the hero for lying and posing, by gratuitously assuming a corrupt text, or by efforts to show that Brutus has logical, uncomplicated motives for everything he does. The last of these responses is of the kind which perhaps does Shakespeare the most injury. Cleopatra's termagant rage at Seleucus compromises her final sublimity; so we are asked to hear it as a queenly deception of Octavius even though the text lacks any such suggestion. Hamlet brawling at a funeral complicates our feelings toward him; so we must understand his deed as feigned madness no matter how useless at this point the feigning may be. Brutus lies to Messala and finds himself playing an embarrassed role; so we are urged to conclude either that the text is corrupt or that Brutus is consistently working for morale among the troops. In all of these instances, however, attention to the whole text will reveal a human perversity or urgency in the protagonist which leads to action that is rich and strange indeed. Brutus' double response to Portia's death is an odd performance entered upon under stress and compounded by impasse. It occurs, moreover, as a capping of the quarrel scene, the very stage of the play at which Shakespeare is trying in another way to show that Brutus commands more interest than stoical sainthood, or any kind of sainthood, can offer.

One note, for what it is worth, on authenticity of the text. I have pointed to Messala's lie in response to Brutus' falsehood as the crux of the scene. Perhaps it is something more than this. Perhaps it was the center of Shakespeare's interest and motive in writing the episode, for the situation is certain of appeal to a resourceful dramatist. A lies to B to keep disturbing matters under cover. B, trying to suppress the same unsettling information, lies in turn to A. A perceives that B is lying to spare his feelings. Result: the cat is out of the bag, with kittens. If we grant that this is good theatre, but hold that the Brutus-Cassius and Messala-Brutus revelations of Portia's death were not meant to be in the same text, we find ourselves enjoying a skillful dramatic stroke produced entirely by inadvertence of printers who let both accounts of Portia's fate slip into the Folio. For, without his previous disclosure to Cassius, Brutus' denial of knowledge to Messala would not appear as a falsehood, and the situation we have savored would be non-existent. It exists, however, in the version we have, and although it may not be scientific to confirm a text by such reasoning, I find it hard to believe that the telling irony of lie begetting lie, and of concealment begetting disclosure, was accidentally created in a printing house.

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St. Mary's, Southwark (also called St. Mary's Over the River; and, since 1905, Southwark Cathedral), from the engraving by W. Hollar (1647). Shakespeare's brother Edmund, a player, was buried here on 31 January 1607, "with a forenoone knell of the great bell". The dramatist John Fletcher was interred here in 1625, and his collaborator Philip Massinger in 1640, in the same tomb.

See p. 256.

"Solid", "Sullied" and Mutability: A Study in Imagery

SAMUEL A. WEISS

DID Hamlet wish that his "sallied flesh", his "sullied flesh" or his "solid flesh" would melt? The concurrence of the First and Second Quartos in reading "sallied flesh" as against the Folio's "solid flesh" has given rise to this famous Shakespearean crux. Now the precise relation of Q2 to the corrupt Q1 is a matter of question. But one fact is certain: In Act I of *Hamlet*, where our disputed reading occurs (I.ii.129), the Second Quarto, normally our authority, has been seriously contaminated by the influence of Q1.¹ If, then, we regard "sallied" as an instance of contamination, we remain with the Folio's reading as the only one with any transcriptional link to Shakespeare's manuscript.

That "sallied" was an obvious case of corruption had been generally assumed, and the preponderance of editorial opinion adopted "solid flesh". The eminent exception to this tradition in modern times was, of course, J. Dover Wilson, who, adopting a suggestion made in 1885 by George Macdonald, emended the text to "sullied flesh" and explained the metaphor as alluding to dirty snow in the process of thawing. Hamlet, we were told, felt personally defiled by his mother's marriage; hence, his "sullied" flesh. "Solid flesh", Professor Wilson ventured to think, was "a little ridiculous".²

Wilson's theory won few converts, and his reading was in the main rejected as far-fetched and conflicting with the obvious sense of the passage. But recently, new arguments have been adduced in support of *sullied*. Challenging the view that *sallied* is a misprint, Professor Fredson Bowers maintains that *sallied* is in fact a rare Elizabethan variant of *sullied* and that bibliographical logic and probability lead to the conclusion that the compositor of Q2 did not pick up *sallied* from Q1 but found it in his manuscript and correctly set it.³

Whether Professor Bowers' thesis concerning the word *sallied* will win general acceptance among linguists remains to be seen. But even granting the linguistic point, it remains difficult to understand why Professor Bowers concludes that contamination from Q1 must be ruled out as a logical impossibility.

¹ See Alice Walker, "The Textual Problem of *Hamlet*: A Reconsideration", *RES*, new ser., II (1951), 328-338. Also her *Textual Problems of the First Folio* (1953). Dr. Walker's thesis that the compositor of Q2 used an annotated copy of Q1 through Act I has been seriously challenged by Fredson Bowers, who maintains that, more likely, the compositor used a manuscript but consulted Q1 steadily: "The Textual Relation of Q2 to Q1 *Hamlet* (I)", *Studies in Bibliography*, VIII (1956), 39-66.

² *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet* (New York, Cambridge, England, 1934), II, 307-315.

³ "Hamlet's 'Sullied' or 'Solid' Flesh: A Bibliographical Case-History," *Shakespeare Survey*, 9 (Cambridge, England, 1956), pp. 44-48.

The nub of his argument is that in Q2 II. i. 39 the word *sallies*—which all agree means “sullies”—appears. This form of the word could not have been influenced by *sallied* of Act I because it was set by a different compositor. Therefore, argues Bowers, if *sallies*, meaning “sullies”, is correct, then *sallied*, meaning “sullied”, must likewise be correct. But on Bowers’ own premise the two cases are totally independent of each other. In accounting for “sallied flesh” we are not obliged to assume that the first compositor was correctly setting from Shakespeare’s manuscript when the distinct possibility exists that he was influenced by the “sallied flesh” of Q1.⁴ That is, in light of the unquestioned influence of Q1 on Q2 in Act I, it still seems not unreasonable to suspect an instance of contamination in “sallied flesh”. And we are driven to this consideration because there remains the ultimate test of meaning and the critical responsibility of judging the contextual appropriateness of a recommended reading. Does “sullied flesh” or “solid flesh” meet the literary requirements of the passage? A close study of the themes and imagery of Hamlet’s soliloquy in relation to Shakespeare’s language and imagery elsewhere may shed light on our problem.

In the spirited exchange which followed J. Dover Wilson’s emendation, G. M. Young in a letter to the *London Times Literary Supplement* (Jan. 17, 1935), p. 33, called attention to a passage in 2 *Henry IV* (III. i. 45ff.) which, as he put it, had “much of the movement and cadence of Hamlet’s soliloquies . . . weariness, solidity, melting, voluntary death.” The passage is that in which the unhappy king exclaims:

Oh God! that one might read the book of fate,
And see the revolution of the times
Make mountains level, and the continent,
Weary of solid firmness, melt itself
Into the sea! And other times to see
The beachy girdle of the ocean
Too wide for Neptune’s hips, how chances mock,
And changes fill the cup of alteration
With divers liquors! Oh, if this were seen,
The happiest youth, viewing his progress through,
What perils past, what crosses to ensue,
Would shut the book, and sit him down and die.

Kittredge’s notes to *Hamlet*⁵ likewise mention the “curious coincidence of phraseology” (*weary, solid, melt*) in the speeches of Henry and Hamlet. But surely the relationship of the two scenes is far deeper and more significant than indicated by Young and Kittredge.

Both Henry and Hamlet are profoundly disturbed by a bitter reversal of loyalties, an act of betrayal upsetting the ideal order of life. Henry’s disquiet results from the rebellion of his former close associate Northumberland: Hamlet is driven to desperation by his mother’s hasty marriage soon after the death of his father. To both men the world appears infected with corruption and disease, and they exclaim upon the terrible insecurity and mutability of human relations, an insecurity so destructive in its implications that suicide seems desirable.

⁴ Cf. reviews of Fredson Bowers’ *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists* in *TLS* (Dec. 28, 1956), p. 788.

⁵ *Hamlet* (Boston, c. 1939), p. 146.

Let us observe the progress of Henry's thought. It is past midnight and the restless king enters with a page whom he dispatches with letters concerning the rebellion of Northumberland to the Earls of Surrey and Warwick. He commands the page to make "good speed" and then, alone, soliloquizes on sleep which no more brings him rest and forgetfulness. Sleep calls forth images of beds, and the disturbance within Henry is projected in imagery of stormy winds, sea and thunder. Sleep lies upon "uneasy pallets" of the poor but not under the "canopies" of the rich; it lies with "the vile" in "loathsome beds" and leaves the royal "couch". By a deft transition the imagery shifts to that of a storm at sea where the sleeping sailor is rocked in the "cradle" of the stormy sea and in "the visitation of the winds,/ Who take the ruffian billows by the top,/ Curling their monstrous heads and hanging them/ With deafening clamor in the slippery clouds." Sleep will grant its repose to the sailor in an hour "so rude", but deny it to a king.

Warwick and Surrey enter, and Henry laments the evil state of the body politic. The exchange between the king and Warwick draws on a metaphor of disease:

- K. Hen.* Then you perceive the body of our kingdom
How foul it is, what rank diseases grow,
And with what danger, near the heart of it.
War. It is but as a body yet distempered,
Which to his former strength may be restored
With good advice and little medicine.
My Lord Northumberland will soon be cooled. (38-44)

Henry's answer is his exclamation on the "book of fate" and the "revolutions of the times" quoted above. Time flattens mountains and sees the continent "Weary of solid firmness, melt itself/ Into the sea!" Food imagery enters: "changes fill the cup of alteration/ With divers liquors!" And if this inevitable sequence of change were understood, the happiest youth would sit him down and die.

From Spenser to the *carpe diem* Cavalier poets, the problem of mutability posed a major intellectual challenge. Shakespeare's views on the matter play but an episodic role in 2 *Henry IV*. In *Hamlet* it will lie at the very heart of the prince's tragedy. Henry's interpretation of mutability is pessimistic and indeed tragic, but ultimately he yields to the argument of necessity. His lament is called forth, not merely by the elementary awareness that all objects of nature are subject to the decay of time, but by the thought that instability rules as well in the human heart and that human faith and friendship are no more secure from the ravages of time than human life itself. Not quite ten years, Richard and Northumberland, "great friends,/ Did feast together", and in "two" years were at war. This very same Percy, now attempting his overthrow, was "like a brother", who worked in his behalf and defied King Richard when the latter, his "eye brimful of tears", prophesied ultimate division between Henry and Percy, saying: "The time will come that foul sin, gathering head,/ Shall break into corruption" (57-79). Here we must note the references to food, tears and disease.

Warwick's answer alludes to time as a breeding force maturing seeds. In turn this links with a garden image of seed and root. (Garden imagery with its

significance of growth and decay is a recurrent feature in Shakespeare's history plays.) By observing "times deceased" one can prophesy of things to come which exist in their "seeds" and become the "hatch and brood of time". Richard could "by the necessary form of this" perfectly guess that Northumberland, then false to him, would "of that seed grow to a greater falseness", which would "root" itself in the new monarch, Henry (80-92).

The king bows to the claims of necessity. "Are these things then necessities?/ Then let us meet them like necessities" (92-93). Thus is Henry reconciled to fate. Warwick then urges him to go to "bed" lest these "unseasoned" hours add to his "sickness".

One other scene in 2 *Henry IV* must be mentioned. After an excursion into the comic sub-plot in Act III, scene ii, Shakespeare returns to his serious plot, invokes the key images of the earlier scene, and adds two important ones: clothes and bitterness, the former with connotations of disguise and mere outward semblance. The forces of the king and the rebels meet. Westmoreland speaking for the loyal army addresses himself to the rebel Archbishop of York and remarks that if rebellion had appeared in its true form as a rioting mob of boys and beggars "guarded with rags", then the Archbishop and the other lords had not been there "to dress the ugly form/ Of base and bloody insurrection/ With your fair honors" (IV. i. 32-41). To Westmoreland's question about his leaving the speech of peace for the trumpet of war, the Archbishop answers:

We are all diseased
And with our surfeiting and wanton hours
Have brought ourselves into a burning fever,
And we must bleed for it. Of which disease
Our late King, Richard, being infected, died. (54-58)

He is not a "physician" nor an enemy to peace but appears temporarily in the guise of war "To diet rank minds sick of happiness/ And purge the obstructions which begin to stop/ Our very veins of life" (64-66). Images of food and disease flow together: food suggesting the ill effects of overindulgence as well as the elemental concept of appetite, desire and sensuality. Images of time and stormy sea also blend: "We see the way the stream of time doth run,/ And are enforced from our most quiet there/ By the rough torrent of occasion" (70-72), says the Archbishop. Their grievances were ignored, and they could by no "suit" gain access to the king. Westmoreland challenges him to say wherein he had been "galled" by the king that he should place a divine seal on this "lawless bloody book/ Of forged rebellion" and consecrate commotion's "bitter edge" (89-93). Books and bitterness. After Westmoreland leaves with their petition, Mowbray doubts that they can make peace with Henry. Every trivial cause thereafter will "taste" to the king of this rebellion. "We shall be winnowed with so rough a wind/ That even our corn shall seem as light as chaff" (194-195). The Archbishop disagrees: Henry is "weary"; he will "wipe his tables clean/ And keep no telltale to his memory" (201-202), for he cannot "so precisely weed this land/ . . . His foes are so enrooted with his friends" (205-207). Peace, he is confident, will "like a broken limb united", another image of illness, "Grow stronger for the breaking" (222-223).

To sum up: Disturbance in the body politic and the disruption of social and

personal loyalties are projected in a series of images which are thematically or emotionally linked. The state of the nation is symbolized in images of Disease (Medicine), Food and Garden. Time (Fate), to which evil is related philosophically, is imaged in Sea (storm, ebb and flow), Books (written record of time) and also Garden (growth and decay). Other images gather round, although their associations and links are not directly revealed: Bed (illness, death?), Storm (Winds, Clouds, Thunder), Clothes (hypocrisy), Bitterness (Gall), and Tears. Time's function is that of breeder but, more strikingly, that of destroyer, and his terrible might is seen in the dissolution of even the toughest substances: mountain and "solid" continent.

The persistence of this imagery, with some variation, in association with the theme of mutability can, I believe, be demonstrated. Between 2 *Henry IV* and *Hamlet* came *As You Like It*, a fantasy of love triumphant and hate miraculously purged in the magical forest of Arden. Into this dream world enters the enigmatic figure of Jaques—enigmatic, if one misses the subtle ironies of the play. Without denying the influence of Jonsonian comedy in the formation of Jaques' character, we may suggest a broader purpose for his appearance than that of theatrical imitation: namely, to recall us to the threatening reality that lies beyond the pale of Arden's forest. Was not Shaw perhaps correct in maintaining that the very title is ironic? What does the overture to the comedy contain but the theme of murderous hatred between brothers? Usurpation and attempted fratricide. Shakespeare avoids tragedy, but through the "melancholy" Jaques he reminds us of the "miserable world" and muses once again on time and social decay.

Jaques calls for the license of a fool:

Invest me in my motley, give me leave
To speak my mind, and I will through and through
Cleanse the *foul body* of the *infected* world,
If they will *patiently* receive my *medicine*. (II. vii. 58-61)

A moment before he had sworn, "As I do live by *food*" (14), that he had met Touchstone, who laid him down and basked "in the sun" and railed against "Lady *Fortune*". The fool then drew forth a watch and philosophized on the passage of time:

Thus we may see . . . how the world wags.
.
And so, from hour to hour, we *ripe* and *ripe*,
And then, from hour to hour, we *rot* and *rot*,
And thereby hangs a tale. (23-28)

Having thus heard Touchstone "moral on the *time*", Jaques decides that Motley's the only wear" (29, 34). Further images of food, clothing and garden crowd together. Touchstone's brain is dry as the remaining "biscuit" after a voyage, yet it has strange parts "crammed" with observations (39-40). Jaques is ambitious for a "motley *coat*" (43), and he puns: "It is my only *suit*,/ Provided that you *weed* your better judgments/ Of all opinion that *grows rank* in them/ That I *am wise*"⁶ (44-47). Wind and bitterness imagery follows: He must have liberty

* The pun on "weed" may be a clue to the link between garden and clothing imagery.

as large a charter as the *wind*
 To *blow* on whom I please. . . .
 And they that are most *galled* with my folly,
 They most must laugh. (48-51)

Then comes the image of the "*infected world*" and its "*foul body*" to which the Duke responds by accusing Jaques of "*foul sin, in chiding sin*". For the railing Jaques has himself been a libertine as sensual as "the brutish sting" and all the "embossed sores and *headed evils*" which he has caught, he would "disgorge" into the world (64-69).

Wind and bitterness appear again together in Amiens' song, which appropriately contrasts the joys of the pastoral retreat with the harsher truths of life: "*Blow, blow, thou winter wind*." "Freeze, freeze, thou *bitter sky*." The scene abounds in references to food; there is a curious image which unites *weary* and *sea*: "Doth it not flow as hugely as the *sea*/ Till that the *weary* very means do ebb?" (72-73), and mention of weeping occurs in *tear* (116) and "drops that sacred pity hath engendered" (123). A new image, that of the theatre, joins our group to symbolize the universal drama of birth and decay:⁷ "universal theater", "woeful pageants", "scene", "play", (137-139) and, of course, Jaques' famous speech: "All the world's a stage", etc.

Time, Fortune, Food, Garden, Disease, Clothes, Wind, Sea, Bitterness, Tears, and, now, Theatre. The unmistakable parallels of theme, imagery and expression in the scenes which we have examined should not surprise us. They are of the very stuff of Shakespeare's creative habits and bear out that process of unconscious associative thinking suggested by Caroline Spurgeon in Chapter X of her *Shakespeare's Imagery* (1936) and elaborately analyzed by E. A. Armstrong in his revealing study, *Shakespeare's Imagination* (1946). Around a dominant master image or central theme there tends to cluster a series of images and words. These "image clusters" are the result of a subliminal organizing principle which operated through subtle associations in Shakespeare's creative unconscious. Once formed, the image cluster tends to repeat itself, albeit some component images may vary. That Shakespeare, when writing on a theme previously dealt with, recalled unconsciously earlier patterns of imagery and expression is beyond doubt.

Henry is stirred to his vision of social disease and natural decay by civil war and the revolt of Northumberland, who had been "like a brother" to him. Like Henry, Hamlet is moved by the destroying hand of time in human relations. But unlike Henry, he will not submit to the argument of necessity and natural fate. The death of fathers is indeed common and inevitable; Hamlet could have adjusted to this fact. But the decay of love and loyalty? Here the clash between ideal possibility and natural reality either is resolved through acceptance which makes possible rational action or leads to tragic despair, impotence and suicide.

"How is it that the *clouds* still *hang* on you?" (I. ii. 66), asks Claudius of Hamlet, who replies with bitter ambiguity that he is too much "i' the sun". Gertrude then urges her son to accept the inevitable and cease mourning since "all that lives must die". Hamlet agrees but flares up when the queen asks why then it "seems" so particular with him. He rejects "seems" and turns it into a

⁷ Later we shall see how theatre and clothing images are linked by common associations with disguise and hypocrisy: "*putting on an act*".

subtle accusation of hypocrisy against his mother which evokes images of clothes, wind, tears (garden, sea), and theatre, the latter joining with clothes to suggest false "show".

'Tis not alone my inky *cloak*, good Mother,
Nor customary *suits* of solemn black,
Nor *windy* suspiration of forced breath—
No, nor the *fruitful river* in the *eye*,
Nor the dejected havior of the visage,
Together with all forms, moods, shapes of grief—
That can denote me truly. These indeed seem,
For they are *actions* that a man might *play*.
But I have that within which passeth *show*,
These but the *trappings* and the *suits* of woe. (77-86)

Hamlet refuses the counsels of necessity. His awareness of instability in human as well as in physical nature has drawn all savor from life. The uses of the "world" are for him "*weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable*". "*'Tis an unweeded garden, / That grows to seed, things rank and gross in nature / Possess it merely.*" At the end of the scene he speaks of "*foul play*" and "*foul deeds*". Hardly "two" months have passed since the death of his father, who was so loving to the queen that he might not allow "*the winds of heaven / Visit her face too roughly*". A curious remark—as curious as Hamlet's reference a few lines later to the queen's "shoes". But compare 2 *Henry IV*, III. i. 21-24: "*the visitation of the winds, / Who take the ruffian billows by the top, / . . . hanging them / With deafening clamor in the slippery clouds.*" Hamlet: "*she would hang on him / As if increase of appetite had grown / By what it fed on.*" And yet before the "shoes" were old with which she followed his father's body, "*Like Niobe all tears*", she married his father's "brother". Before the "salt" of "tears" had left "*the flushing in her galled eyes*", she married. "*Oh, most wicked speed, to post / With such dexterity to incestuous sheets.*" Henry dispatched his page with letters and bade him make "*good speed*" (post with dexterity); compare also "*loathsome beds*".

Can one deny that Shakespeare in *Hamlet* unconsciously echoed the imagery and, in many instances, the language of his earlier work? Conscious of the effects of mutability, Hamlet wishes to suffer the ultimate human mutation in time: death. Like the continent in Henry's speech, he is "*weary of solid firmness*", but unlike the continent which can and does "*melt itself / Into the sea*", Hamlet's flesh will not "*melt / Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew!*" And why not? Because it is "*too too solid*". This is precisely the anguish in Hamlet's cry, the cry of a man who wishes to die but who finds his body resisting dissolution. And this is what is completely lost in Dover Wilson's interpretation. The image may well be that of snow (cf. *Richard II*, IV. i. 260-262), but to propose that it is "*sullied*" snow is to deprive the passage of its inescapable emotional tension and meaning.

When, in the famous closet scene, Hamlet hurls his furious denunciation at the queen, he is in essence repeating himself. As in his first soliloquy, the contrast between the elder Hamlet and Claudius is drawn, and the classic image of Hyperion is invoked to describe the dead king (I. ii. 140; III. iv. 56). Hamlet's remark that every god set his seal on King Hamlet to give the world assurance

"of a man" (III. iv. 62) echoes his earlier: "He was a man, take him for all in all" (I. ii. 187). The metaphor of feeding on love is repeated: "Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed/ And batten on this moor?" (66-67). And "to post . . . to incestuous sheets" becomes the violent expression of sex-nausea: "to live/ In the rank sweat of an enseamed bed" (91-92). The earlier garden image is recalled in Hamlet's warning his mother not to spread "the compost on the weeds/ To make them ranker" (151-152). Images of disease, decay, food, clothes, garden, beds all appear. A storm-and-book image occurs in Gertrude's, ". . . what act/ That roars so loud and *thunders* in the *index*?" (51-52). There is mention of *fortune* (32) and *tears* (130). Claudius is like "a *mildewed* ear,/ Blasting his wholesome brother" (64-65); Gertrude cautions Hamlet, whose "*bedded* hairs" are standing on edge: "Upon the heat and flame of thy *distemper*/ Sprinkle *cool patience*" (123-124). There are references to madness, ulcers, infection, "rank corruption" (148). Food and decay combine in the morbid and horrifying: "*Stewed in corruption, honeying* and making love/ Over the nasty sty—" (93-94). Clothing images are: "A king of shreds and patches" (102); the ghost enters "in his habit as he lived" (135), and a little later the word *habit* enters in its sense of customary action and triggers another clothing image:

custom, who all sense doth eat,
Of *habits* devil, is angel yet in this
That to the use of *actions* fair and good
He likewise gives a *frock* or *livery*
That aptly is *put on*. (161-165)

The association of "actions" and clothing suggest the connection of play (theatre) and costume with connotations of hypocrisy found in the earlier scene (I. ii. 84-86). And finally we discover the expressions "solidity" and "melt".

They have parted company. *Melt* appears in a simile comparing virtue to wax: "To flaming youth let virtue be as wax/ And melt in her own fire" (84-85). And *solidity* occurs in connection with doomsday, or universal dissolution. The reading of the passage is disputed. Q2 is as follows:

heavens face dooes glowe
Ore this solidity and compound masse
With heated visage, as against the doome
Is thought sick at the act. (48-51)

The Folio amends *Ore* to *Yea* and *heated* to *tristfull*. Most editors adopt the Folio version and interpret the passage to mean that both heaven and earth are appalled at Gertrude's act. C. J. Sisson, however, defends the Quarto reading and interprets "solidity and compound mass" to mean the gross flesh of man, i.e., Heaven's face glows with anger over the foul deeds of man's flesh as in preparation for doomsday, and is thought-sick at the act.⁸ Whether one agrees with Sisson or not, an image of *solidity* appears in our cluster in association with the theme of dissolution.

One final piece of evidence. *Troilus and Cressida* is closely related to *Hamlet* in temper and mood. Both plays express Shakespeare's disillusionment and pessimism, and both are dominated by images of disease and food. The third

⁸ *New Readings in Shakespeare* (Cambridge, England, 1956), II, 222-223.

scene of the first act introduces us to the Greek camp and to the troubles which beset it. After seven years of war Troy still stands. Agamemnon tries to hearten his followers by asserting that reverses are to be expected in ambitious projects and that it is in the face of stormy fortune that true worth is demonstrated. He is seconded by Nestor, and then Ulysses speaks. He maintains that Troy would have been conquered were it not for the factional strife and lack of discipline in the Greek camp. And there follows his famous speech on "degree" and his indictment of Achilles, who is the main source of Greek dissension. Once again Shakespeare deals with an unhealthy social condition resulting from civil division, and once again, with almost startling consistency our image cluster reappears.

Disease: "jaundice" (2); the sun's "medicinable eye/ Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil" (91-92); "plagues" (96); "the fever whereof our power is sick" (139); "physic the great Myrmidon" (378), and others.

Food: "saucy boat" (42); "a toast for Neptune" (45); "honey" (83); "will into appetite,/ And appetite, a universal wolf,/ . . . Must . . . / At last eat up himself" (120-124); "factions feasts" (191); "the Trojans taste our dear'st repute" (337).

Garden: disasters "Grow in the veins of actions highest reared,/ As knots, by the conflux of meeting sap,/ Infect the sound pine" (6-8); "The seeded pride/ That hath to this maturity blown up/ In rank Achilles must or now be cropped" (316-318).

Storm and Fortune: "the wind and tempest of [Fortune's] frown" (26); "storms of Fortune" (47); "the ruffian Boreas" (38).

Clothes: "Degree being vizarded,/ The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask." (83-84) "We'll dress him up in voices." (382).

Bed: "lazy bed" (147); "pressed bed" (162); "bed work" (205).

Books: "in such indexes, although small pricks/ To their subsequent volumes" (343-344).

Bitterness: "A slave whose gall coins slanders" (193); "they have galls" (237); "salt scorn of his eyes" (371).

Theatre: "He pageants us" (151); "like a strutting player" (153).

Many of these key images are concentrated within Ulysses' oration on degree: food, clothes, illness, storm (sea and wind): Without degree nature and society would be torn with discord. Justice would vanish, and might would supplant right. And what is the image used by Ulysses to symbolize dissolution in nature?

The bounded waters
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores,
And make a sop of all this solid globe. (111-113)

Viewed thus in relation to Shakespeare's unconscious habit of repeating image clusters and studied in light of the contextual demands of the passage, the *sallied*, *solid* dispute ought to be settled, I believe, in favor of the only truly meaningful and Shakespearian reading: "solid flesh".

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Reviews

Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. Volume XI, 1958. Ed., FREDSON BOWERS. Charlottesville, Virginia: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1958. Pp. [vi] + 297. \$7.50 to non-members.

The articles in the current *Studies in Bibliography* range widely in time and topic, but there is rather less material on Shakespeare. F. O. Waller makes a thorough and percipient study of the copy for *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. It is now generally recognized that a number of the dramatic manuscripts secured by publishers must have been "transitional": that is to say, a draft or copy of the play at one stage of its development marked and annotated as a prelude to the writing out of the next stage. Most often it will be a question of foul papers annotated by the book-keeper in preparation for making the prompt-copy. Waller argues convincingly that the evident signs of the book-keeper's hand in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* are no more than insertions in the foul papers; his chief evidence for foul papers is the deficiencies in stage-directions and entrances, deficiencies intolerable in a prompt-book. Waller also lists the tangles and awkward joinings which suggest that the play was a collaboration between two authors who were writing their parts separately from each other—he accepts a Shakespeare-Fletcher collaboration. From the annotated foul papers of two authors, Waller moves—a little reluctantly?—to the suggestion that the copy for Fletcher's share was a transcript of his foul papers. His reason is that there are not enough *ye*'s in Fletcher's part. This extra complication is disheartening because (though Waller may well be right) it takes away from the purity of his argument; in the first part of his article he argues from the nature of the copy to collaboration, then he argues from the assumed fact of collaboration to the nature of the copy.

Some of the problems which Waller has to face are also met by R. A. Foakes in a brief study of the text of *Henry VIII*. It is obviously of the first importance, in a play in which divided authorship is suspected, that the spelling variations should be sorted out and the compositors separated from authors or scribes. So Foakes gives us some more information on those Elizabethan journeymen, the compositors of the First Folio, whose habits we know better than we know those of Shakespeare. The doings of compositors are explored in a different way by G. W. Williams, who is furthering the theory that Elizabethan printing houses were accustomed to cast off copy and print by formes. Williams is concerned with quarto-work, and he takes examples of work done by Thomas Creede, including *The First Part of the Contention*, *Alphonsus, King of Aragon* and the "bad" *Romeo and Juliet*. His evidence for setting by formes lies in the exhaustion of the type-pieces for individual letters, and he claims that the patterns produced by type-shortages reveal also the order of the setting of formes and the times at which type was distributed.

The casualness of Elizabethan proof-reading is again demonstrated in the reproduction of a proof-sheet of 1609, discovered by J. R. Brown in a prose work printed by Nicholas Okes. Brown can also give amusing evidence of the casualness of the amending of the marked page: from a corrected page found in another copy of the same work, he is able to point out instructions either ignored or carried out in slovenly fashion. Brown argues, from the concern to replace

defective type, that Okes (who printed the 1608 *King Lear* and the 1612 *White Devil*) had some concern for the appearance of his page and suggests that the number of variants in the two plays indicates that the copy must have demanded exceptional treatment.

Finally, no-one should fail to read the entertaining survey by R. D. Altick of Victorian cheap reprints. At one time, it was possible to buy two Shakespeare plays for a penny, or a complete Shakespeare for a shilling—the latter edition sold 700,000 copies. Altick's article is outstanding for its combination of serious bibliography with a delight in literature and a scholarly concern with the history of learning and taste.

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PHILIP EDWARDS

William Shakespeare, The Comedies, The Histories, The Tragedies. Edited and with an Introduction to each play and a glossary by PETER ALEXANDER. Introduction to the *Comedies* by TYRONE GUTHRIE, to the *Histories* by JAMES G. MC MANAWAY, to the *Tragedies* by GEORGE RYLANDS. 3 vols. New York: The Heritage Press. Volumes I and II, 1958, Volume III, 1959. Pp. xlviii + 1120, xxi + 1010, and xxii + 1362. \$25 the set; \$8.50 the volume.

This fine edition is designed with double purpose; it supplies a text for a gentleman's library, presenting the results of scholarship for those who wish to profit by academic studies without following all the arguments or absorbing the details; and it is directed toward the American reader.

Peter Alexander's text, which is that of his one-volume Tudor Shakespeare, is in modern spelling, lightly punctuated, combining the new and the traditional. He has been conservative in adopting new readings; nevertheless a rough check shews the amount of unobtrusive labor that has gone into this edition, probably the most central and generally acceptable of versions recently produced. In his general introduction and in the succinct preface for each play, the editor in an easy and modest style gives the facts of Shakespeare's life, the dating and printing of the plays and their literary and theatrical connections. He also suggests a few reference books. The quality of his brief critical asides may best be shown by quotation.

The heart of Shakespeare's drama is not reached till the storm and tempest are over and we come on the stillness of Lear's reconciliation with Cordelia. Here at last he recognises goodness for what it is in its own right. And the play's real theme is the gratitude of the converted heart at such a revelation. . . . He is not confounded by his terrible visions for he sees in the midst of them what walks unscathed; and we read his plays because, however unconsciously, we share in that triumph, and have at least a sense, however our intelligence or conduct may later deny it, of what the soul hungers to attain to.
I, p. xviii.

Alexander's glossary contains some definitions in the Johnsonian manner e.g.

Greensleeves, a ballad tune not tending to godliness, *Merr. Wives Win.* 2. 1.

and some explanations that amount to footnotes, e.g.

Adam (I), *the picture of old Adam*, because the officer had a coat of strong leather, and Adam after the fall wore skins *Com. Err.* 4. III.

Sixteen or eighteen pages out of a thousand give but little latitude, however, and the words which are glossed are not starred in the text; this presupposes a reader who might read a glossary for its own sake.

Each volume has its Introduction; Tyrone Guthrie presents the Comedies,

and in his ironic and pointed style sets out five aims of stage interpretation, a survey of the good and the bad in British and American production, and a final challenge to get Shakespeare "off the shelf, out of the study and back on the stage where he belongs" (p. xlvii). On casting, on verse speaking and on setting Guthrie speaks with authority; but the new-found alliance between actors and scholars should have saved him from putting the reopening of the theatres at the Restoration "nearly fifty years later" than their closing (p. xlv) or from declaring that "only pirated versions" of Shakespeare's plays appeared before the first folio (p. xxv).

The Histories are introduced by James McManaway, who in twelve pages contrives to pack an account of the rise of the History play, its significance to the Elizabethans, the social range of Shakespeare's characters, a discussion of his style, and some reflections on the meaning of the plays in terms of our own day, more especially for Americans.

They [the Elizabethans] watched Shakespeare's English Histories in the theatre, and they read them as they read Greek and Roman history, for an understanding of how good and evil men had managed affairs of state and had been transformed, for better or worse, by the quest or the use of power. (p. xvii)

The interaction between past and present, the defeat of the Armada and the Battle of the Coral Sea, means that when "a rootless generation is seeking to re-establish its roots" they gain from the poets and historians both insight and hope. Shakespeare's usefulness in war is always being demonstrated; Lord Wavell was a student of the Histories, and as the Normandy landings began, Churchill turned for words to *Henry V* and found what he wanted in the Chorus to Act III. Perhaps our present age may find something more like a *Mirror in the Troublesome Reigns of John or Henry VI*.

By way of comment on the Tragedies, George Rylands commits himself to a series of epigrams.

Comedy doth best discover vice. Tragedy doth best discover virtue. . . . Romeo is a poetic mouthpiece. In *Othello*, the poetry is essential to the conception of the Moor. . . . Antony and Cleopatra are gilded over with poetry, yet they themselves are not poets.

If Shakespeare overreached himself in *Hamlet* by putting everything in, he followed that romantic melodrama with a tragedy in which he tried to leave everything out [not *Macbeth*, by the way, but *Othello*].

The presentation, in short, is designed to stimulate and gratify curiosity. This is not merely a sumptuous edition; it is calculated for those who keep Shakespeare not only alive but alight, by feeding back into life what they absorb from the plays.

The order of the plays is based on the First Folio, and the matter prefatory to the Folio is included. This hint suggests that the Heritage Press has aimed at the modern equivalent of the public to which Heminge and Condell addressed themselves. If the illustrations, even by such famous artists as Ardizzone, seem to be merely a concession to settled convention in these matters, the board coverings, which reproduce an old wallpaper design from Davenant's inn at Oxford, show how readily even in such minor matters the designs of an earlier age adapt to modern usage.

Girton College, Cambridge

M. C. BRADROOK

Shakespeare: Lectures on Five Plays (Carnegie Series in English, No. 4). Ed., A. FRED SOCHATOFF and others. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1958. Pp. [xiv] + 83. \$1.00.

This is Number Four of the Carnegie Series in English by members of the Department of English and consists of one lecture each on *Much Ado*, *Measure for Measure*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*. The Preface to the Series proclaims the intention, and suggests, perhaps, certain problems. No reviewer could begin without quoting from it:

The teaching is . . . focused upon equipping [the students] to continue after graduation to learn and grow as self-reliant individuals, citizens, and professional men and women whose thinking is well ordered and well informed. . . .

The humanistic and social courses seek to help professional students to develop enduring interests, understanding, and attitudes that will deepen and humanize their tastes and insight, and broaden the area in which their professionally disciplined thinking can be applied. . . .

If the English teacher is to succeed in his teaching, he must make literature come alive in the classroom. *He can accomplish nothing by professorial declamation or pleading, for the students would promptly write it off as prejudice.* [sic] Nor can he expect his students to be concerned with the minutiae of scholarship, with literary movements, or with literary forms. Instead, he must choose materials which, *besides being meaningful to students at the time*, will be capable of influencing their thinking and stimulating them to further reading long after graduation. . . . It is a challenge indeed thus to help professional students *discover beauty, find pleasure and comfort and inspiration in literature*, and thereby develop interest, taste, and a *discriminating sense of values* that will grow stronger with the years. [The italics are mine throughout.]

It is, indeed, an assignment that might have daunted the greatest English lecturers of the past: Verrall, or Macneile Dixon, or "Q", or A. A. Jack. The traditional art of persuasion, the kindling of the "fire in the belly", is ruled out: "for the student would write it off as prejudice". (Can this really be true? Is there such a distrust of the professorial "egg-head"?) Dr. Johnson indeed growls vaguely from the past: "What should books teach but the art of living?" What indeed? And yet, and yet . . . "materials must be meaningful to students at the time"; "they must discover beauty, find pleasure and comfort and inspiration. . . ."

Volume I in the series consisted of *Lectures on Four of Shakespeare's History Plays*, but the titles do not appear. Why, we may ask, were the present five plays chosen? *Measure for Measure* has much to say about Chastity, and more about the Forgiveness of Sins: which may perhaps be "meaningful material" to the present day student. *Antony and Cleopatra* has the greatest poetry of all, and is not without interest to the student of politics, generalship, and the psychology of women. But what have *Much Ado* and *Cymbeline* to offer? And *The Tempest's* "meaningful material" has not, it seems, been aligned with Hawaii or Formosa, with Elizabethan Communism or pre-marital chastity or. . . .

And as we read through these lectures, no doubt admirably delivered "without declamation or pleading", our discomfort grows. What is it that we are missing? Here are lengthy and detailed explanations of the plots (*Much Ado* starts with a consideration of the parent Greek Romances); we have laborious exposition of reversal and recognition, plot, sub-plot, and counterplot.

What we are missing is, of course, the poetry.

The Poetry has gone: the learned lecturers work entirely in terms of plot and character. No, not entirely, for two passages in *Antony and Cleopatra* are noted as achieving "heights of poetic utterance"; yet these, I think, not among the greatest, and they go unanalyzed. Not once are the plays seen as "poetic metaphors". The critics normally quoted in support or with approval are Hazlitt, Swinburne, Mrs. Anna Jameson, and (once) Coleridge. Perhaps this is because consideration of poetry or poetical form is ruled out: for it might lead to "professorial declamation or pleading". Yet one lecturer cites Donne as if his poetry might be familiar: a few lines later he makes a strange allusion:

"I suspect that the taste of our own day, *conditioned as it is by the complex mixtures of such writers as [sic] T. S. Eliot and Graham Greene*, for instance, is perhaps at last ready to relish this work of Shakespeare's" (p. 36). (We may think that even a student of physics would be hard put to it to imagine such a forced agglomeration of neutrons.) The play in question is *Measure for Measure*.

And even character is attacked with caution:

"Isabella—saintly and enskied as she may seem—is in her own way as stern a doctrinaire as Angelo (or, should we say, as Angelo used to be?) Certainly we don't wish her to accept the proposal, *but at this point we do feel that her spirit requires some humbling and softening before it will be wholly admirable*" (p. 27). (The italics again are mine.) Nor are the lecturer's jests very pregnant.

"Obviously the young lady is caught between a very desolating Scylla and a very revolting Charybdis" (p. 22). "When the deputy duke ordered all the houses of ill-fame closed, she opened an establishment which now operates under the title of a 'bathing house', *but the title fools nobody*" (p. 28).

Nor does *Antony and Cleopatra* come off much better. The lecturer quotes with approval, and as the pretext for the historical approach to character, Johnson's "Sir, the biographical part of literature is what I love most". To make the play "meaningful to students" he parallels—it is true in deprecation—

Let Pittsburgh in Monongahela sink . . .

"This is a play about politics, and very ugly politics, as much as it is a play about love" (p. 38). Perhaps it was too much to hope that it might be presented as a study of war and of personalities in war and love; and if the laws of libel forbade illustrative identification with personalities of the Second World War, there are other similarities further back. (The Galley Scene goes almost unmentioned.) It is true that there is an attempt to "find pleasure and comfort and inspiration in literature":

"I consider the experience of producing or viewing *Antony and Cleopatra* a salutary one for young people of College age, who are all too prone to assume that in the years of man, as in the thermometer, 32 is the freezing point" (p. 40).

"Surely one of the sparkling gems in the crown of Shakespeare's greatness is his understanding of women—an area of research in which most men after a lifetime of enthusiastic study end by confessing themselves baffled" (p. 45).

"Shakespeare exhibits in lurid colour Cleopatra's moral amnesia" (p. 46).

"Most of us do not have the physical strength, the sheer courage, the personal charm, the magnetism, to be Antony" (p. 50).

But of the glory of Cleopatra's final speech, of the exaltation in complexity, of the golden images picked up from all that has gone before, we are given nothing; nor of that moment when (as Masfield wrote), "the whole man must have been trembling"

Dost thou not see my baby at my breast,
That sucks the nurse asleep?

The Tempest is seen, quite credibly, from a political angle (this is, indeed, the liveliest of the five lectures). Yet here again much is lost. Gonzalo's account of Utopia is quoted, but stops at a critical point:

. . . all foison, all abundance
To feed my innocent people.

and omits the magnificent and pointed comment:

Sebastian: No marrying among his subjects?

Antonio: None, man; all idle; whores and knaves.

Indeed, one begins to suspect that the discussion of Shakespeare's bawdy is inhibited, and that is perhaps why the imagery of the Countryman with the Asp is given inadequate treatment, though the Clown "has the true masculine relish for a snide comment on the ladies" (p. 49). Are we discarding (as Shakespeare did not) this universal humor, this infallible means of "audience contact"? ("Sir Robert Walpole always talked bawdy at table, because in that all could join.")

So what? It is easy to criticize these shallow, brittle lectures, that try so hard to be bright and "interesting", that seem to miss so many opportunities, that leave such a strange void in the mind. Yet this thing is desperately important; not least at a great Institute of Technology. How could the thing be done better? and what responsibility must Shakespearean scholars bear that it shall be so done?

We must start by asking questions. How much can the students understand of poetry *before* these lectures? How far can they assimilate image and metaphor? Do they respond to the music of great poetry? If not, if indeed they have "shut their lips on poetry", would it not be better to lecture them on poetry itself, or on prose drama, until they have some understanding? Does not this recapitulation of plot, this scratching the surface of character, encourage them in their belief—which is probably an *a priori* one anyway—that poetry doesn't matter? that it is merely an obsolete and needlessly difficult jargon? Should Shakespeare be treated in this way at all? Were it not better done to rely on Lamb's *Tales*? And if "culture" demands that we *must* lecture on Shakespeare, would it not be better to give five lectures on one play than five on separate ones? And do we not want one introductory lecture at least on what lies *behind* the play; the beliefs, the morality, the habits of thinking that makes it so and not otherwise? For only then, surely, are we in a position (knowing these differences) to make it "meaningful to students at the time"?

And if we admit to ourselves the importance, then it follows that for these people only the best is good enough. There is likely to be far more rejoicing in Heaven over one engineer who is fired to go on reading during the rest of his life than over fifty Ph.D. students who spend the best years of their lives coughing in ink over the factitious dissertation subject, or editing some tenth-rate peripheral Elizabethan whose work no one need read.

We must then ask ourselves, what plays are best for our purpose? The Histories have been "done". My experience in the U. S. suggested that even "professional" students (that is, of English Honors) found the ramifications of English history peculiarly tedious and remote. Of the present plays, the lecturers appear to be apologizing a little for their selection. Of *Much Ado*, "He tells us at the outset that we are not to take seriously this 'tear-jerker' [*sic*] about a credulous lover deceived by a false friend. . . ." Of *Cymbeline*, "And yet, if we are to accept it merely as an entertainment, how wonderfully entertaining it could be" (p. 63). (Shades of *Patience* and the "pure young man"!)

Might it not be better to take single plays more relevant (for this is, rightly, one of the objectives) that are pertinent to the human situation? *Macbeth* as a study in the genesis of evil? *King Lear* as having as its center the most profound of modern problems—setting aside that of evil—of children and of old age, and “nature” in both? *Coriolanus* as the great *exemplum* of the problem of the One and the Many, and of the equally modern problem of the soldier in policy and peace?

But indeed this could be done profitably with many plays; provided only that there is time and the skill—skill far greater than that called for from any Shakespearian Scholar in a formal English Faculty—to make these dry bones live.

It will not, I think, be done unless the lecturers are prepared to expound the plays in a double setting: first in some minimal background of the age, language, type of imagery, so that there may be some understanding beyond the surface one of “plot”, and the slightly deeper one of “orthodox” character analysis. Thereafter, the lecturer must present them in as many ways as possible as being related to the human situation. He will not do this unless he himself is capable of extracting and presenting such aspects of this situation as are latent (*sub specie aeternitatis*) in the plays. These aspects are integral with the poetry, which alone can compass the full dramatic statement. This he cannot do unless he has himself a core of belief from which to work, outwards and upwards. Christianity is perhaps as good a basis as any.

And if the lecturer is to be ham-strung by a convention that prohibits him from talking of great poetry in terms of the emotions in which it is rooted, is it desirable to teach in this way at all? For if he is very lucky he may reckon that five per cent of his audience may go on to serious reading in later life. He will never know the figures, for the seed falls at random; but the five per cent (far more than the readers of poetry in civilized life) would be the reward of a great lecturer. And they will go on to read, not because they think it will make them better citizens, or better adjusted socially, or because it might be considered snobbish to have read a little Shakespeare; but because they have known this excited re-living of great things, and are moved to seek more for themselves.

St. Catharine's College, Cambridge

T. R. HENN

Dramatic Providence in Macbeth: A Study of Shakespeare's Tragic Theme of Humanity and Grace. By G. R. ELLIOTT. Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xvi + 234. \$5.00.

Professor Elliott's study of *Macbeth* follows the same plan as his books on *Hamlet* (*Scourge and Minister*, 1951) and on *Othello* (*Flaming Minister*, 1953): a personal interpretation of the play is presented through detailed, scene-by-scene commentary. Readers unfamiliar with Professor Elliott's earlier works may be puzzled by his approach. The intensity of his “close reading” and his ingenuity in finding significant verbal echoes and in extracting symbolic meaning from minor details may recall some of the worst features of the New Criticism. Passing references seem to indicate that Professor Elliott is attempting to restore the Renaissance meaning of the play, but in truth very little evidence of Renaissance beliefs is marshalled to support the argument. Emphasis on the importance of such Christian terms as “penitence” and “grace” for a proper understanding of the play invites comparison with such recent studies as those of Professors Battenhouse, Bryant, and Siegel; but Professor Elliott disavows any intention of making Shakespeare a theologian and asks only for a broadly rather than a rigorously Christian interpretation.

If we know that Professor Elliott was some thirty years ago a staunch New Humanist, and at the same time insistent that that movement should neglect neither the insights of Christianity nor the specifically aesthetic delights of poetry, the puzzle about where to place him should be solved. For he seems to me to have remained surprisingly consistent in his general views over the years. He still holds the simplified view of intellectual history which he shared with Norman Foerster in 1930. In this scheme there are but three periods: (1) a more or less unbroken continuum of Pagan-Christian humanism lasting from antiquity through the Renaissance; (2) a period of "naturism" or "humanitarian rationalism" rising in the 17th and 18th centuries and becoming fully dominant in the 19th; and (3) a reaction against "naturism", with a deliberate attempt to return to "humanism", beginning with the catastrophe and disillusionment of 1914. Arguing from this scheme, any reaction against "naturism" (which includes both "scientific" and "romantic" approaches to literature) must of necessity be a return to "humanism", for there are only the two philosophical orientations. This may account for Professor Elliott's assumption that when he expresses a personal reaction against a 19th-century interpretation of Shakespeare, he must of necessity be restoring the Renaissance meaning, the Christian meaning, the humanist meaning, and Shakespeare's meaning, for they are all synonymous.

The thesis of *Macbeth*, as Professor Elliott reads the play, "is that a wicked intention must in the end produce wicked action unless it is, not merely revoked by the protagonist's better feelings, but entirely eradicated by his inmost will, aided by divine Grace" (p. 23). Thus the reader as well as Lady Macbeth should see Macbeth as "too full of the milk of human kindness", for so long as the stirrings of pity, fear, remorse and other emotions opposed to his ambition remain unsupported by divine Grace, they can lead only to sinful pride in his own humanity rather than to true repentance and amendment of life. But the Christian reader will know that divine Grace is always available to Macbeth, as to all sinners, if he will but open his soul to it. Professor Elliott insists that Shakespeare makes this his basic structural principle and upon it builds a drama that is fraught with suspense up to the very moment of Macbeth's death. Duncan, Malcolm, Banquo, Macduff, the horrible visions, even the witches' prophecies are vehicles through which Grace is mediated to Macbeth, if he would realize it.

The criterion by which Professor Elliott asks that we judge his interpretation is this: "What interpretation of *Macbeth* is truest to its author's aim of producing in the play the utmost of pity and fear, of dramatic suspense, irony, contrast, and surprise?" (p. 32). Professor Elliott does not bother to argue that such was in fact Shakespeare's aim; he merely assumes that all great drama aims at the effect he describes. With the question begged in this way, it is difficult to quarrel with Professor Elliott's reading, for we cannot deny that it multiplies the suspense, irony, and contrast in almost every scene. Indeed, few critics would disagree violently with Professor Elliott's analysis of the action through the murder of Duncan, except perhaps to argue that we do not need specifically Christian terms of reference in order to see Macbeth as a soul divided whose evil purpose is not yet firmly fixed. But as Professor Elliott strains to show that this pattern of suspense is continued in the later action, he departs further from Shakespeare's text and builds a play almost entirely of his own intuition and imagination. In discussing Act V, scene vii, for example (pp. 213 f.), he tells us that Macbeth surveys young Siward with admiration and "would fain spare him", that by failing to reply to young Siward's taunts Macbeth "tacitly admits

that his enslaving tyranny has been justly judged by the spirit of free and vital young manhood", that when Macbeth confronts Macduff "his self-centered remorse is here converted, for the first time, into actual penitence", and that Macbeth is now "completely subdued, for the time being, by Grace". For none of this can I find the slightest warrant in the text. And indeed, Professor Elliott seems to admit almost as much (footnote, p. 219) when he claims that his "otherwise questionable interpretation" of the scene with young Siward is justified simply because it makes this scene a dramatic preparation for the climax with Macduff.

Few readers, I suspect, will agree wholeheartedly with Professor Elliott's reading of *Macbeth* or find his method one they wish to imitate and to apply to other plays. Despite all its faults, however, the book is stimulating, for it sends the reader back again and again to the text of the play so that he can conduct a running debate with a man who has at least constructed a theory about the total meaning of *Macbeth*.

Indiana University

RAY L. HEFFNER, JR.

Zur Verteilung von Vers und Prosa in Shakespeares Dramen (Schweitzer Anglistische Arbeiten, Bd. 41). By ELISABETH TSCHOPP. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1956. Pp. [viii] + 118. 8 sw. fr.

This is an intelligent and perceptive contribution to the study of the distribution of verse and prose in Shakespearian drama. Like other recent treatments of the subject, this book reacts against the earlier critical assumption that the whole problem of Shakespeare's use of prose in verse-drama can be answered in the form of some such simple generalizations or rules as: certain classes of characters speak in prose, other classes in verse; or prose is the medium for scenes of lighter moods, verse for the more serious scenes; or prose in Shakespearian drama invariably conveys a level of existence (or an outlook on life) sharply contrasted with that intimated by verse. Such observations are half-truths which, while not entirely unsound, cannot do justice to the subtle dramatic interplay between prose and verse that mark *Hamlet*, *Much Ado*, and *Othello*.

After providing a general table of the percentage of prose to verse in Shakespeare's plays, and their distribution among the various characters, Miss Tschopp proceeds to a thorough examination of the prose passages and their context in ten plays. She begins with *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and ends with *The Winter's Tale*, but has chosen most of her texts from the period between 1598 and 1604. Comedies, histories and tragedies are all represented, and basic differences in genre are taken into account. Sensibly she avoids any play about whose authorship, either in part or as a whole, any doubts remain. She has been similarly cautious in sifting out from her evidence all those passages whose form—verse or prose—cannot be finally settled. As she proceeds from play to play, she neatly shows that while the conclusions arrived at from her analysis of such relatively early plays as *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or *Henry IV* are also applicable to most later plays, are indeed confirmed by them, each individual play demands to a large extent its own, peculiar approach. It is to my mind in the repeated and detailed demonstration of this truth that the main value of this study lies. And it is because of the new perceptions of the functions of dramatic prose in the plays treated in the later chapters, that one feels encouraged to read on. To make a few shrewd observations on Shakespeare's dramatic use of prose is relatively easy; it is a different matter to sustain interest in an investigation of this subject for even the length of an hundred pages. This book succeeds fairly.

Yet, as its author admits in the introduction, the book provides a very

limited approach to its subject. It avoids the whole question of the conventional use of prose in Elizabethan drama and it excludes any consideration of prose-style. The investigation is therefore much narrower than that in Milton Crane's excellent *Shakespeare's Prose*. Some of the self-imposed limitations can be justified. As Crane has convincingly shown, Shakespeare learned little from his predecessors or contemporaries about the dramatic potentialities of prose in verse-drama. In this respect Shakespeare showed the road to his fellow-dramatists almost all the way; no need therefore to examine their techniques of prose again. Incidentally, Crane's book appeared in print when Miss Tschopp's study had been largely completed. One sympathizes with her rather desperate attempt to justify the publication of yet another book on a subject already adequately treated (a quandary Ph.D. students get into!). Yet the book's detailed perceptions are sufficient to make it a worthy contribution. They in no wise contradict Crane's conclusions, but they often provide a good supplement.

The fact that the whole issue of different prose and verse styles is avoided is, however, a more serious matter. At the beginning of her study Miss Tschopp shows cleverly, with the help of a passage from *As You Like It* (IV. i. 32-33), how sharply attuned the ears of Shakespeare's audience were to the difference between the rhythm of prose and of blank verse. Yet she lets the reader down when she does not venture to analyze this difference further, but simply assumes its existence in the remainder of her study. For her purpose, the only relevant feature of the prose passages of, for instance, *Iago* and *Othello*, the *Gravediggers* and *Osric*, is that they are in prose. She has noticed of course the widely different quality in the prose of these characters, but that is not her subject. If she had dealt with it, her study would of course have become ten times as complex. Yet sharp delimitation of a subject is one thing, and a strong awareness of the country that lies immediately beyond its borders is another. The reader of this book is left in considerable uncertainty as to how varied the impact of different kinds of verse or prose can be in Shakespearian drama; whether, indeed, certain kinds of dramatic blank verse may not affect the audience much in the manner prose does, however well attuned they may be, or may not be, to their rhythmical difference. Consider the opening scene of *Hamlet*. In his fascinating treatment of that scene (in *Poetry and Drama*), T. S. Eliot has shown how the verse is repeatedly varied, subtly yet noticeably, so that at times the effect is consciously poetic, while at others even the Elizabethan audience would hardly have been conscious of whether they were listening to prose or verse dialogue. But if verse can be so much like prose, or prose like verse, then it is incumbent on anyone engaged in a study like this to begin with a differentiation of the effect of various kinds of prose and blank verse; for only then can one really judge to what extent a study of the distribution of what are technically verse and prose can be illuminating.

A further difficulty in any study of the prose and verse passages of a Shakespearian drama is that one can often recognize their precise and relative functions only if one feels confident in the interpretation of the play as a whole. Such a study will therefore be much easier when applied to those plays where scholars are fairly well agreed as to Shakespeare's intention or vision; for instance in *As You Like It* or *Othello*. Plays like *Much Ado* or *The Winter's Tale* are much more problematical. In Miss Tschopp's analysis of the two latter plays, I find that of *The Winter's Tale* far more satisfying. Not only does she provide interesting reasons for the absence of prose in all of the play's first part except for scene i, and for the much greater variety in the styles of the pastoral scenes, but her analysis of the prose leads her also to the discovery of a significant connection, as regards dramatic function, between the play's opening scene and III.

iii, the link scene between the tragic and pastoral parts of the drama. Similarly, one would suppose in *Much Ado* that the scarcity of verse in the Beatrice-Benedick interviews and the preponderance of it in the Claudio-Hero-Leonato scenes, can largely be explained in terms of the basically different attitudes towards love and marriage by the two groups of characters; a difference that is not dissolved by the development of Benedick's and Beatrice's mutual affection. If Miss Tschopp's conclusions on *Much Ado* seem less illuminating than those on some other plays, is this perhaps because of a fundamental uncertainty as to the play's basic theme and meaning? Notwithstanding the weaknesses indicated, this is a good book.

Victoria College
University of Toronto

F. D. HOENIGER

Shakespeare. Englische Essays aus drei Jahrhunderten zum Verständnis seiner Werke (Kröners Taschenausgabe, Bd. 249). Ed., ERNST TH. SEHRT. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1958. Pp. 304 + 8. DM 9.80.

Undoubtedly the greatest merit of this little volume, a pocket edition of the Alfred Kröner publishers in Stuttgart, is the service it renders a wide reading public in Germany by making available to them, for the first time, important English essays in Shakespeare criticism in their native language. One may hope that this collection may contribute somewhat toward the final demolition of the obstinate conviction, for centuries nurtured in Germany, and paradoxically once more expressed in the editor's preface, that "basically it is the German spirit that has rediscovered the great dramatist of the Elizabethan era for the modern world".

The essays span three centuries. The eighteenth century is represented by Pope and Johnson; the nineteenth by Hazlitt, Coleridge, De Quincey, Pater, and Bradley; the twentieth by Robert Bridges, (nominally) E. K. Chambers, T. S. Eliot, Caroline Spurgeon, Granville-Barker, J. M. Murry, and E. M. W. Tillyard.

In his preface the editor attempts to explain the varying trends in criticism as it passed from eighteenth-century rationalism through Romanticism, the Victorian era, and the text-, stage-, and Elizabethan culture-conscious modern age. Mr. Sehrt's analyses are clear and erudite enough, but they fail to show, or even imply, any common denominator, leaving us with the impression that every age, nay every critic, knew a different Shakespeare.

Contemporary criticism is not slighted, but the fact that G. Wilson Knight, L. C. Knights and F. R. Leavis are mere names briefly enumerated, whereas G. B. Shaw and Robert Bridges are discussed as proponents of prominent schools, shows that Mr. Sehrt is somewhat out of touch with the currency and relative importance of Shakespeare criticism in England and America. Textual and historical contemporary criticism is relegated to the status of "specialties" (Fachwissenschaft), although Mr. Sehrt admits that such studies find a "surprisingly" wide audience.

The translations are throughout competent, careful, clear, and frequently elegant.

Queens College
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ERNST J. SCHLOCHAUER

Shakespeare for Young Actors. Ed. with Introduction and Comments by ELEANOR PATMORE YOUNG. New York: Exposition University Press, 1957. Pp. 284. \$4.50.

In her *Shakespeare for Young Actors*, Eleanor Patmore Young has offered acting versions of six Shakespeare plays commonly found on highschool cur-

ricula. Readers are likely to guess correctly that they are *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *As You Like It*, *Julius Caesar*, and *The Tempest*. Each version is designed for an acting time of about forty minutes. Each is provided with introductory notes and with the editor's stage directions. The introductory notes in each case explain the pattern of abridgement and relate it to the original play on the one hand and to the editor's purpose on the other. They often include, as well, simple interpretations of the main characters and events. The stage directions direct a great deal. Not only are entrances, exits, and business explicitly set down, but the manner in which a number of speeches are to be delivered is stipulated. Thus actors are warned to speak various lines "with great respect", "hesitantly", "as an afterthought", or "with venom". The stage directions occasionally explain or defend themselves. When Trinculo, in *The Tempest* version, discovers Stephano "He shouts for joy; he had thought Stephano drowned."

The book indeed seems to attempt answers for most of the problems which might confront the teacher-director in the course of putting on the plays with young actors. If an imaginative or experienced teacher should disagree with some of these answers, I am sure that Mrs. Young would not feel that the value of the versions themselves was compromised. The work, however, seems to be put together with an eye to providing the inexperienced and unimaginative teacher with a way of putting on something like Shakespeare without too many demands on self or students. There may well be a need for such a facility, although, were it possible, I would rather change the teachers and leave the Shakespeare undoctored.

Mrs. Young's versions make coherent little plays. They would be, I think, extremely suitable material for television. For those who can and will make such judgments for themselves, there are, of course, points of choice in the abridgement where issue might be taken with the editor. When long plays are turned into short ones this is inevitable and to pursue the details of the present case would be to quibble.

The purposes and principles of *Shakespeare for Young Actors* are set forth in two introductory chapters. I do not think that I will be unfair to Mrs. Young if I quote from them out of context.

In view of the widely admitted failure to awaken appreciation of Shakespeare as he is generally taught, it seems that simplified acting versions have a place in the highschool curriculum. . . . The author has found that the presentation of Shakespeare in this manner not only helps dispel the deep-rooted prejudice which has sprung from the traditional approach, but also furnishes an entertainment that fosters genuine appreciation.

(Introduction, p. 15)

I will grant, with a few reservations, the "widely admitted failure" and the "deep-rooted prejudice". I will agree with Mrs. Young when, in another part of her introduction, she argues for the dramatic approach to the teaching of Shakespeare. But I feel that she makes an *homme de paille* of what she calls "the traditional approach". The failures which she ascribes to this convenient term seem to me to be in fact the failures in terms of quality and discipline of our education and our educators. I do not think that simplifying Shakespeare or any other serious discipline is likely to do other than make the situation worse.

Mrs. Young's Shakespeare is largely shorn of "minor plots", "long declamatory speeches", and "Renaissance doctrine". She points out that these things tend to be confusing, dull, or meaningless to modern highschool students. It

follows apparently for Mrs. Young, though not for this reviewer, that we are well rid of these barriers to young enjoyment and consequent stimulation.

Well, as a secondary school teacher, I am also anxious that my students enjoy Shakespeare and I take considerable pains to give them the chance to do so. But I do not believe that my anxiety or the initial "interest" of my students should dictate the materials of the subject. I want my students to study Shakespeare's text. If it is difficult, I cannot make it easy, but it is my job to help them learn to do difficult things. I have no interest in presenting them with a Shakespeare arranged to the level of appreciation which they brought with them to school. I do want them to be fascinated, if possible, but not at the price proposed by Mrs. Young.

Kent School

O. B. DAVIS

SHORT NOTICES

William Shakespeare. By KARL BRUNNER. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1957. Pp. viii + 232.

Professor Karl Brunner's volume is an agreeable and useful survey of Shakespeare's life and work. The summaries of what is known of his life and family and of the production and the publication of the plays are presented in a remarkably concise way and with a pleasant and discriminating style. The introductory chapters—on the biography and on theatrical history—show Professor Brunner at his best, in the judicious sifting of the detailed knowledge that has accumulated in recent years.

The main effort of his book is to emphasize what Professor Brunner says has often been neglected in Shakespearean study, the art of the playwright. But Professor Brunner attaches a quite special meaning to the word *art*. *Art* means to him not the methods by which Shakespeare combines plot and diction and spectacle, nor the means by which in the theatre or in reading he achieves his effects, but, rather, the ways in which the playwright takes over the plots and stories of other writers, the way in which he makes use of learning, and the ways in which he uses the stories to bring out ideas. The word *art* can mean much more than this, of course, but, interpreting it as he does, Professor Brunner presents a remarkably clear analysis of his subject.

Professor Brunner does not take account of many works that have had great influence in recent years—those of Clemen, Wilson Knight, etc.—nor does he show any interest in allegorical interpretations of the plays or the more subtle psychological studies. He prefers to confine himself to the main ideas that the action and the themes themselves make plain. His analysis of these elements is skillful and it is only rarely that he is led into a by-path that is of doubtful value, as he is, I think, in his remarks on the etymology of Caliban's name. But, generally, what Professor Brunner does he does clearly and sensibly, and his work offers German students a useful and reliable guide.

University of Michigan

JOHN ARTHOS

Sprachstil und Charakter bei Shakespeare (Schriftenreihe der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, N.F. VI). By CHARLOTTE EHRL. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1957. Pp. 192. DM 12.

It would have been a meritorious, though perhaps not very novel, undertaking to investigate systematically how language is used to delineate the characters in Shakespeare's plays—thus, to give but one example, Hotspur's hyper-

bolic boasting surely is a recognizable part of his character; when he speaks the "how" is as important as the "what". Speech is an obvious indication of status, education, temperament. Dr. Ehrl, however, attempts substantially more; she shows how a character's speech, diction, imagery are used not only for purposes of characterization but also in order to state the dramatic situation or dramatic theme, to establish the dramatic conflict or interplay of character, and to create dramatic atmosphere. Thus, and again a few examples must suffice, in *Hamlet* the dramatic conflict of two opposing worlds is projected by a difference of "language", and a change in speech pattern follows a change in the attitude of a character; the "drama" of *Othello* develops as the hero's speech is undermined by Iago; or in *Lear* the development of the old king's characteristic speech pattern reflects his inner development and his progressive tragic experiences. Dr. Ehrl is not wholly without predecessors as she acknowledges in her bibliographical notes, but she adds much of her own and offers yet another analysis of Shakespeare's verbal magic by which words are turned into art.

College of the City of New York

LUDWIG W. KAHN

Filmstrips: Twelfth Night (No. 5128), *Merry Wives* (No. 62114—color), *Dream* (No. 6225C—color), *Henry IV* (No. 6226—color), *2 Henry IV* (No. 6227—color), *Caesar* (No. 6239C—color), *GYLI* (No. 6240C—color), *Richard II* (No. 6242—color). Notes for each play. London: Educational Productions Ltd., [1958]. 35 mm. film, 25 to 48 frames in each strip. \$5.00 each. Extra Notes, 25 6d.

This material consists of 35 mm. filmstrips in color intended for individual frame projection. Each strip contains from 25 to 48 pictures from an "Old Vic" Shakespeare production. With each film strip is a pamphlet which quotes without comment the dialogue from the play appropriate to the scene being viewed.

Quoting from a Foreword note in a pamphlet, "The purpose of these Shakespearean filmstrips is to encourage and develop an appreciation of English Literature through the class participation, whereby students can read the parts against the illustrations. . . ."

Being one who has contributed so very little to foster interest in things Shakespearean, I tend to be over enthusiastic regarding the efforts of others in this field. In this case, praise for these strips I am sure is justified. The only shortcomings are in the selection of some of the scenes and the poor quality of the photography in the long shots. These appear to be reproductions of other photographs that in the process have lost depth and definition.

Frames taken from a middle distance and including in the camera's range only a few characters are excellent, particularly in regard to costume detail and color. This excellence is particularly noteworthy in the historical plays.

The close-up shots of the principal players in *1* and *2 Henry IV*, and *Richard II* are superb; indeed they seem to have stepped out of canvasses of Raphael or Titian. English actors, it seems, can not only speak the poet's metered lines with resonant effectiveness but they also look the parts of Shakespeare's noblest characters.

I believe these strips could be used very profitably in serious discussion and study groups. The college play director would find them a helpful stimulus for his cast, and the costume designer could use them to advantage.

Despite some minor blemishes and technical shortcomings, I submit the strips as being most worthwhile. I regret that I must live so far from London and the "Old Vic".

Glendale, California

JOSEPH F. KENNEDY

Tolstoj and Shakespeare. By GEORGE GIBIAN. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton and Co., 1957. Pp. 47. Gld. 3.50.

This is an excellent little book. The qualifications of its author may well be unique; he did his doctoral dissertation at Harvard on Shakespeare in Russia, emphasizing the golden century before 1914. His present study also reveals an excellent command of the necessary sources.

The work is divided into five parts. First, the problem is stated: how could a genius like Tolstoj have disliked Shakespeare so? Then Gibian discusses the long history of Tolstoj as a Herostratus during the several decades before *What Is Art* and *On Shakespeare and the Drama*, which two essays Gibian then proceeds to examine. The fourth section deals with Tolstoj and *Hamlet* and, as Gibian tells us, is indebted to the work of a Soviet scholar (Breitburg). The final part ties up the loose ends.

This arrangement enables us to see Tolstoj's attitude not as a two-shot tantrum, but as the prolonged and jerky development of a lifelong affliction. His motto seems to have been *Si etiam omnes, ego non*, and, as Gibian states, "Tolstoj enjoyed disliking Shakespeare and disagreeing with other critics" (p. 46). That disagreement "was based in part on Tolstoj's adherence to the literary criteria and tastes of the French eighteenth century neoclassicists and in part on Tolstoj's personal religious and puritanical fanaticism" (p. 45).

As a result, we can see here what Gorky was complaining about when he compared Tolstoj to a mountain that had stretched itself across the path from Russia to Europe, and why Turgenev dubbed Tolstoj both an "eccentric genius" and "a real man but a 'nut.'" Of Tolstoj's genius, there can be no doubt, but its reflection in his remarks about Shakespeare reminds one of the distorting mirrors in an amusement park. Gibian has pointed this out well, citing chapter and verse, and therein lies his service.

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EDGAR H. LEHRMAN

King Lear (New Clarendon). Edited by RALPH E. C. HOUGHTON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. 256. \$1.05.

King Richard II (Yale Shakespeare) Edited by ROBERT T. PETERSSON. Yale University Press, 1957. Pp. [viii] + 163. \$1.50.

Mr. Houghton, editor of the New Clarendon *King Lear*, follows substantially the text in the *Oxford Shakespeare* edited by W. J. Craig more than half a century ago. In the last two decades Shakespearian scholarship has made admirable progress, especially in the field of bibliography. He naturally reaps the harvest of modern textual criticism. Generally speaking his emendations are convincing, each of them being supported by the results of researches by Shakespearian scholars. The trouble is, if ever there is, in his attitude to editing Shakespeare. Neither F1 nor Q1 is the copy text for his edition. He seems a faithful believer in Bradley's proposition that all good modern texts are eclectic.

Contrary to him, Professors H. Koekeritz and C. T. Prouty, general editors of the *Yale Shakespeare*, have a principle in editing that series. They use a quarto text, when there is any, as the basis of their edition, unless it is clear that the text has been contaminated. Mr. Petersson, in editing *Richard II*, observes the principle and takes Q1 as copy text. As is well known, in the case of this play the relations of Qq and F1 are very much complicated. Nevertheless, Q1 is a reliable text printed with all probability from Shakespeare's own foul papers. It really deserves to be the copy text, though it lacks the Deposition

Scene, which should be, as Mr. Petersson does, taken from F1. The only trouble in the case of quarto plays is with stage directions. In F1 they are more numerous and more accurate than those in Q. The editor adopts many of them with or without notes. Though he follows the general editors' principle, he is not always satisfied with Q1 readings. In the notes at the end of the text he sometimes suggests his preference for F1 or later readings.

Both texts have well-chosen commentaries, notes on dates, sources, textual problems, and short bibliography or bibliographical sketches. Mr. Petersson's remarks, scattered throughout the notes, on the historical facts on which the story is based are specifically informative.

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JIRO OZU

Queries and Notes

"LIKE TWO SPIRITS": SHAKESPEARE AND FICINO

JOHN M. STEADMAN

Shakespeare's Sonnet 144 was indebted to two distinct traditions, both of great antiquity: (1) the Platonic commonplace of the "two loves" (δύο ἔρωτες)¹ and (2) the mediaeval conception of good and evil spirits contending for man's soul. What is most significant is not that Shakespeare utilized these two conventional themes,² but that he combined them in an unusual and striking manner. The central "invention" of his poem—the simile around which the entire sonnet was constructed—was the explicit comparison of the two loves to "two spirits", a good and an evil angel.

This fusion of the two concepts, however, is by no means unique. There are at least three analogues which seem to have gone unnoticed:³

1. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Don Adriano de Armado calls love a "devil" and an "evil angel":

Love is a familiar; love is a devil; there is no evil angel but love. (I. ii)

2. In his *Commentary on Plato's Symposium* Ficino had described the *gemi amor*es as two spirits (*duo daemones*). Whereas the good spirit (*bonus daemon*) attempted to elevate the soul towards celestial objects (*ad superna*), the evil spirit (*malus daemon*) strove to degrade it *ad inferna*:

Geminae autem Veneres hae geminique amoris non solum in anima mundi, verumetiam in sphaerarum, siderum, daemonum, hominumque animis insunt. . . . In nobis autem non duo tantum, sed quinque amoris reperiuntur. Duo quidem extremi daemones, medii tres, non daemones solummodo, sed affectus. Profecto in hominis mente aeternus est amor ad divinam pulchritudinem pervidendam, cuius gratia, philosophiae studia, et iustitiae, pietatisque officia sequimur. Est etiam in generandi potentia occultus quidam stimulus ad subolem procreandam. Isque amor perpetuus est, quo assidue incitatur, ut supernae pulchritudinis illius similitudinem in procreatae proles effigie effingamus. *Hi duo amoris in nobis perpetui, duo sunt daemones illi, quos Plato nostris animis semper adesse vaticinatur; quorum alter ad superna erigat, alter deprimat ad inferna; alter calodaemon, id est bonus daemon sit, alter cacodaemon, id est malus sit daemon.*⁴

¹ See Pausanias' speech in Plato's *Symposium*; Leone Ebreo, *Dialoghi d'Amore*, ed. Santino Caramella (Bari, 1929), pp. 131-133, 287-289; Sears Reynolds Jayne (ed.), *Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on Plato's Symposium*, University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (Columbia, Mo., 1944), 48-49.

² In Griffin's opinion, the poem "suggests an idea similar to that embodied by Plato in his illustration of the human soul with its black- and white-winged steeds, or that represented by Marlowe in the good and bad angels that attend upon the fate of Faustus." See Hyder Edward Rollins (ed.), *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Sonnets*, I (Philadelphia and London, 1944), 369.

³ None of the interpretations listed by Rollins, 368-371, has considered these analogues.

⁴ Jayne, p. 85. Italics mine.

The conception of Eros as a *daemon* can be traced to Diotima's statement in the *Symposium* that Love is neither an immortal god nor a mortal creature, but a "great spirit" (δαίμων μέγας).⁵ Ficino's extension of this idea—identifying the *duo amores* with a *calodaemon* and a *cacodaemon*—is not illogical. If (1) Eros is a spirit and if (2) there are two ἑρῶτες, then (3) these two contrasting loves must be two antithetical or antagonistic spirits.

Unlike Shakespeare, however, Ficino qualified his dispraise of the *malus daemon*:

Revera utrique sunt boni, quoniam tam subolis procreatio, quam indagatio veritatis necessaria et honesta censetur. Verum secundus ideo dictus est malus, quia propter abusum nostrum saepe nos turbat, et animum a praecipuo eius bono, quod in veritatis speculatione consistit, avertit maxime, et ad mysteria viliora detorquet.⁶

3. Robert Burton's conception of the two loves is particularly interesting both for its interpretation of Ficino and for its similarities with Shakespeare's views. As in Sonnett 144, love and friendship are regarded as two contrasting *amores*, good and bad angels which persuade the soul towards heaven or hell:

Amor et amicitia, which Scaliger exercitat. 301.⁷ Valesius and Melancthon [*sic*] warrant out of Plato φιλεῖν and ἐρᾶν from that speech of Pausanias belike, that makes two Veneres and two loves. "One Venus is ancient without a mother, and descended from heaven, whom we call celestial; the younger, begotten of Jupiter and Dione, whom commonly we call Venus." Ficinus, in his comment upon this place, *cap.* 8, following Plato, calls these two loves, two devils, or good and bad angels according to us, which are still hovering about our souls. "The one rears to heaven, the other depresseth us to hell; the one good, which stirs us up to the contemplation of that divine beauty for whose sake we perform justice and all godly offices, study philosophy, &c.; the other base, and though bad yet to be respected. . . ."⁸

Burton gave Ficino's thought a distinctly Christian bias. He interpreted the Italian's *calodaemon* and *cacodaemon* as "good and bad angels" respectively and rendered *ad superna* and *ad inferna* as "to heaven" and "to hell". His highly literal translation of *duo daemones* as "two devils" suggests, moreover, that Don Adriano's "familiar"—"devil" or "evil angel"—may have been none other than Diotima's δαίμων μέγας in English dress.

These analogues hardly permit us to conclude that Shakespeare had read Ficino's Commentary. Nevertheless, they do establish, virtually beyond all doubt, the Platonic character of the basic simile underlying Sonnett 144. Like its "two loves", its comparison with "two spirits" seems to have been a borrowing from Renaissance Platonism. Though the problem of Shakespeare's specific indebtedness to Ficino must remain an open question, we cannot reject the possibility of the latter's indirect influence. We must, accordingly, regard with reservation the verdict of a recent scholar⁹ that, although Shakespeare "toyed with some

⁵ Cf. Leone Ebreo, p. 280.

⁶ Jayne, 85-86. Cf. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1845), p. 473.

⁷ Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Liber de Sublimitate* (Lutetiae, 1557), p. 380: "Quippe amare, distinguuntur in φιλεῖν et in ἐρᾶν. Ac propterea distinguendum illa, φιλεῖν, & ἐρῶντα. Non enim idem penitus est, Amor, & Amicitia."

⁸ Burton, p. 473.

⁹ Jayne, p. 28.

artificial Renaissance ideas" in his sonnets, "there is little evidence of Ficinian influence, either direct or indirect, upon Shakespeare's insistent realism."

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THE FORESTERS' SONG IN *AS YOU LIKE IT*

PETER J. SENG

A number of the songs which occur in Shakespeare's plays present an editor with textual cruxes,¹ but none of them has provoked so much critical speculation—to my mind, needlessly—as the "Foresters' Song" in *As You Like It*. It seems to me that the textual problem raised by this song is more apparent than real, and that the attempts of various scholars to resolve the "problem" are a direct result of a red herring dragged across the trail by Lewis Theobald when he emended a line which he did not, perhaps, understand.

The text of this song as it appears in the First Folio (1623) is as follows (Sig. R5^v):

Muficke, Song.

*What fhall he haue that kild the Deare?
His Leather skin, and hornes to weare:
Then fmg him home, the rest fhall beare this burthen;
Take thou no fcorne to weare the horne,
It was a crest ere thou wast borne,
Thy fathers father wore it,
And thy father bore it,
The horne, the horne, the lusty horne,
Is not a thing to laugh to fcorne.*

Exeunt.

Commenting on the third line of this song in his second edition of Shakespeare's *Works* (1740), Theobald vented his spleen not only on the line, but on the capabilities of two important editors who had preceded him:

This is no admirable Instance of the Sagacity of our preceding Editors, to say Nothing worse. One should expect, when they were *Poets*, they would at least have taken care of the *Rhymes*, and not foisted in what has Nothing to answer it. Now, where is the Rhyme to, *the rest shall bear this Burthen*? Or, to ask another Question, where is the Sense of it? Does the Poet mean, that He, that kill'd the Deer, shall be sung home, and the Rest shall bear the Deer on their Backs? This is laying a Burthen on the Poet, that We must help him to throw off. In short, the Mystery of the Whole is, that a Marginal Note is wisely thrust into the Text: the Song being design'd to be sung by a single Voice, and the Stanza's to close with a Burthen to be sung by the whole Company.

The "preceding Editors" who aroused Theobald's ire were Nicholas Rowe and, of course, Alexander Pope, who in 1728 had made Theobald the hero of *The*

¹ "When icicles hang by the wall", *LLL* V. ii. 922 ff., "You spotted snakes with double tongue", *MSND* II. ii. 8 ff., "Tell me where is fancy bred", *MV* III. ii. 63 ff., "Love, love, nothing but love", *TC* III. i. 125 ff., "Come unto these yellow sands", and "Full fathom five thy father lies", *Tempest* I. ii. 375 ff., 396 ff.

Dunciad. In their editions of Shakespeare² both Rowe and Pope had printed the "Foresters' Song" substantially as it appears in the First Folio.

Theobald's emendation, and his irate note, struck home. Of sixteen important editors³ of Shakespeare's works in the two centuries following Theobald, not one fails to emend the third line of this song in one fashion or another. Warburton, Johnson, and Hanmer substantially follow Theobald's lead, and render the third and fourth lines of the song:

Then sing him home;—take thou no scorn
To wear the horn, the horn, the horn

and place the words "the rest shall bear this burthen" as a stage direction opposite lines 4-6. Capell ignores Theobald's interpolation to create one of his own:

Then sing him home. Take thou no scorn
To wear the horn, the lusty horn

and discards "the rest . . . burthen" entirely. Malone, Steevens, Reed, and Boswell render the critical lines:

Then sing him home:
Take thou no scorn to wear the horn

with "the rest . . . burthen" as a stage direction opposite lines 4 and 5. White makes the entire third line a stage direction for lines 4 and 5. Dyce and Collier make it a stage direction for lines 4-9; and Clark and Wright, Craig, Holme, Kittredge, and Neilson regard only the second half of the line, "the rest . . . burthen", as a stage direction for these lines. The only important editor since Pope who reproduces the first folio text of the song is John Dover Wilson,⁴ but he rearranges the lines, apparently to escape Theobald's censure against editors who have not "taken care of the Rhymes":

What shall he have that killed the deer?
His leather skin and horns to wear.
Then sing him home—the rest shall bear
This burthen.

Thus, "having restored the Folio text, deserted by Theobald and all subsequent editors", Wilson suggests that the identification of the precise "burthen" of the song might well be left to the historians of music.⁵

The most recent scholar to take up the problems posed by this song is Professor Ernest Brennecke who argues that "the rest shall bear this burthen" is a stage direction, and the words "Then sing him home", an interjected line of dialogue, meant to be spoken.

² Rowe (London, 1709), Pope (London, 1728). When an editor has produced more than one edition, I always cite the final.

³ Warburton (London, 1747), Johnson (London, 1765), Capell (London [1767-8]), Hanmer (Oxford, 1771), Malone (London, 1790), Steevens (London, 1793), Reed (London, 1813), Boswell, Third Variorum (London, 1821), W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright (Cambridge, 1863), Dyce (London, 1875), Collier (London, 1875-8), R. G. White (Boston [1883]), W. J. Craig, Oxford Shakespeare (London [1892]), J. W. Holme, Arden Shakespeare (London, 1920), Kittredge (Boston, 1936), and Neilson (Boston, 1942).

⁴ *As You Like It* (Cambridge, 1926).

⁵ *TLS*, 19 June 1930, p. 514.

A forester would sing out the first couplet of the lyric. Another would interrupt by crying out "Then sing him home!", which would mean two things. First, "Let our chorus carry the singer to the completion of the song"; second, "Let us carry this hunter into the presence of the Duke." Such a double meaning is by no means uncharacteristic Shakespearian technique.⁶

I can agree with Professor Brennecke's handling of this controversial line with two reservations: first, there is no need to sacrifice the second half of the line by relegating it to the silence of a stage direction; second, there is surely a double meaning involved, but it is far more extensive than the one suggested by Professor Brennecke.

It seems highly unlikely that the third line belongs with the song,⁷ but there is no reason why the entire line cannot be regarded as an interjected line of dialogue. There is strong internal evidence in the play itself for such an interpretation. A cardinal rule of editorial practice holds that, external helps lacking, if sense can be made of a difficult textual passage without emendation, emendation is precluded. Sense—extremely witty, good sense—can be made out of the third line in Shakespeare's song as soon as the reader ignores Theobald's misleading suggestion, and returns to the folio text.

Jaques, always ready for a bitter joke, meets a party of foresters returning from a successful hunt. "Which", he asks, "is he that killed the deer?" When the successful hunter identifies himself, Jaques suggests that the deerslayer be borne back to the Duke in triumph on the shoulders of his fellows. But there is an ironic edge to the honors that Jaques is so eager to confer: the horns of the deer are to be placed on the head of the hunter "for a branch of victory". The "branch", of course, is the age-old symbol of the cuckold. The jest would never escape an Elizabethan audience, and it does not escape the assembled foresters. "Have you no song, Forester, for this purpose?" asks Jaques. Yes, there is a song. A forester sings out the first couplet, then Jaques, spreading over the whole group the jest he had started, cries out to the foresters: "Then sing him home, the rest shall beare this burthen", thus serving the purposes of the episode, the play, and the playwright perfectly by planting horns on the heads of everyone present.

Musically speaking, "this burthen" which the rest shall bear may be the lines of the song which follow; but in the double meaning, "by no means uncharacteristic Shakespearian technique", it is the horns themselves,⁸ man's

⁶ "What Shall He Have That Killed the Deer", *The Musical Times*, No. 1308 (August, 1952), p. 351.

⁷ The musical setting for it in John Hilton's *Catch that Catch can, or a Choice Collection of Catches, Rounds, & Canons for 3 or 4 Voyces* (1652), omits this line entirely. Though Hilton's song could hardly have been the original version used on Shakespeare's stage (he was born in the year *As You Like It* was first produced), it may merely be his "setting" of the tune that was used. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the First Folio version of "Come unto these yellow sands" has a scrambled line similar to this one, "and sweete Sprights beare the burthen", that is part of the song.

⁸ The pun is not unique here. *Burthen* is almost the exclusive spelling in the First Folio for either sense of the term, and Shakespeare clearly makes the same pun in *TGV* I. ii. 85 and *Shrew* I. ii. 68. I have recently noticed a striking parallel to the lines in Shakespeare's song in John Trussell's *The First Rape of Faire Hellen*, ed. M. A. Shaaber, *SQ*, VIII (1957), 439:

Diuers there are vnknowne, that in like cafe,
doe beare the burthen of a Cuckold skorne:
Yet if that none do them in words disgrace,
they neuer feare the wearing of the horne.

Burthen, here, obviously has only the sense of *onus*.

inheritance by gift of nature and a fallible wife. From such an interpretation the rest of the song follows with inexorable logic: the cuckold need take no scorn for his embarrassing situation. Cuckoldry is the world's second oldest profession. Horns are a familial crest going back to antiquity.⁹ Father and grandfather were "horn mad" in their time, and the rest of mankind, should they now dare to laugh the cuckold to scorn, shall, in their own time, "beare this burthen".

As Shakespeare had earlier in the play paraphrased "Blow, blow, thou winter wind" in a speech put into the mouth of Duke Senior (II. i. 3-11), so now he puts into Touchstone's mouth a prose paraphrase of the cynical wisdom of the "Foresters' Song" (III. iii. 49-58):

Here we have no temple but the wood, no assembly but horn-beasts. But what though? Courage! As horns are odious, they are necessary. It is said, "Many a man knows no end of his goods." Right! Many a man has good horns and knows no end of them. Well, that is the dowry of his wife; 'tis none of his own getting. Horns? Even so. Poor men alone? No, no! the noblest deer hath them as huge as the rascal.

Touchstone is philosophical about the matter. So, no doubt, are the foresters. What other refuge is there? That horns bring with them a certain amount of odium no one will deny; but they are "necessary", that is to say, inevitable. The Arcadian detachment of the courtier-huntsmen in the Arden of *AYLI* has given them a tolerant perspective on their former life. But the insight into human failings that might have brought about a misanthropy as bitter as Timon's, brings about, instead, an awareness of human fallibility, an awareness softened and mellowed by an abounding sense of good humor.

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⁹ Compare Valerio's oration on the "horn" in Chapman's *Al Fooles* (1605), *Plays and Poems*, ed. Thomas Marc Parrot (London, 1910-14), II, 160, especially, "What worthier Crest can you beare then the Horne?"

HAMLET IV. v. 156-157

GORDON W. O'BRIEN

When Laertes first beholds Ophelia mad, he exclaims:

O heat, dry up my brains! Tears seven times salt
Burn out the sense and virtue of mine eye!

The passage, I believe, has not been explained. I find about it only Hardin Craig's gloss on heat as "probably . . . generated by the passion of grief"; and G. B. Harrison's remark that "Laertes, especially in moments of emotion, is prone to use highly exaggerated speech."¹ Granted. But why invoke heat? And why should tears be "seven times salt"? The answer to the first question is to be found in a variety of Renaissance medical treatises; the answer to the second is provided by Timothy Bright in his *Treatise of Melancholie* (1586). Together

¹ *Shakespeare*, ed., Hardin Craig (1958), p. 779; *Shakespeare, The Complete Works*, ed., G. B. Harrison (1952), p. 921.

(along with some hints supplied by Shakespeare himself in some of the earlier plays) these reveal that Laertes' outburst associates—and the physiology is meticulous—an over-hot heart with an addled (hot and dry) brain and a hot brain with heavily salty tears.

The brain, says Thomas Vicary, "Sergeant Chirurgion" to Queen Elizabeth, is normally cold and moist:

And why he is colde and moyst, is, that he should by his coldnesse and moistnesse abate and temper the exceeding heate and drought that commeth from the Heart: Also why it is moyst, is, that it should bee the more indifferenter and abler to euery thing that should bee reserued or gotten into him.²

The *Problemes of Aristotle* (1595) is less vague about the function of moisture:

Q. Why is the braine most moyst? A. Bicause it may easily receiue euery impression, which moisture can best do, as it appeereth in waxe, which doth easilie receiue the print of the seale when it is soft. Q. Why is the braine cold? A. This is answered two waies. First, bicause that by his coldnes it may cleere the vnderstanding of man, and make it subtile. Secondly, that by the coldnes of the braine the heat of the hart may be tempered.³

Jaques obviously has these qualities of cold moisture in mind when he says of Touchstone that

in his brain,
Which is as dry as the remainder biscuit
After a voyage, he hath strange places cramm'd
With observation, the which he vents
In mangled forms.

(As You Like It II. iv. 38-42)

In at least two earlier plays Shakespeare shows his familiarity with these medical dicta. Portia tells Nerissa (*Merchant of Venice* I. ii. 18-20) that "The brain may devise laws for the blood, but a hot temper leaps o'er a cold decree." In one sense, anyhow, the decree is made cold by the brain. The Duke of Gloucester, when he hears of his father's death (3 *Henry VI*, II. i. 79-80), exclaims: "I cannot weep, for all my body's moisture / Scarce serves to quench my furnace-burning heart." Normally, of course, the brain will quench it, a notion that intensifies the Duke's hyperbole.

But even the quiet heart is exceedingly hot, since with a subtle flame it must distill the vital spirits from the blood, as commentators from Galen to Burton inform us. One of the more popular of these was Bartholomaeus, whose *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was translated into English in 1582 by Stephan Batman. Bartholomaeus tells us that some of the vital spirits engendered in the heart rise directly to the brain, where "pearcing & passing forth to the hollow place of the braine, is ther more directed and made subtile and is chaunged into the spirit animal, which is more subtile than the other." The animal spirits "make perfect" the common sense, the imagination, intelligence, and understanding. They also impart motion to the body:

² *The Englishmans Treasure* (London, 1587), pp. 156-157. This and all subsequent citations are of editions in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

³ *The Problemes of Aristotle, with other Philosophers and Phisitions* (London, 1597, second edition), sig. B1.

By meane of such a spirit, the soule is ioyned to the bodie. . . . And therefore if these spirits bee diminished, or lette of theyr working in any worke, the accord of the bodie and soule is resolved, the reasonable spirit is let of all his workes in the bodye. As it is seene in them that be amazed, and madde men and franticke, and in other that oft leese the use of reason. And that is because the instrument of the spirite is hurt by some humour, either by some wounde.⁴

Laertes fancies that "the instrument of the spirite is hurt by some humor": amazement and grief have overcome his heart, have made it, in Gloucester's image, "furnace-burning". Such a furnace will turn the tables on the brain: the vital spirits will come flaming up "where pearcing & passing forth to the hollow place of the braine" they will dry it up and make the victim a "madde man and franticke". Laertes, it would seem, proposes to go mad out of sympathy for his sister. In any case, the uncontrolled furnace will make his tears excessively salty.

Of this latter phenomenon Timothy Bright has this to say:

They [tears] are salt of tast, through that heate of the eye, which turneth easily that excrement into saltnesse, besides the mixture of the salt humiditie which is alwayes about it. For the eye of any one being touched with the tong, giueth a manifest release of saltnesse: which riseth of that moyst excrement, altered into such tast by the eyes heate. That the eyes be exceeding in heate, besides manifest experience of touch, the plenty of spirit which they ordinarily possesse, the store of arteries and vaines, the plenty of fat round about, the celeritie of motion do argue sufficiently the same. Neither is that ordinarie passage of humidity from the brain, whereby their heate may be tempered, lest they become thereby sore, and withered, the least argument of their hote temper, which is not afforded to any part of the bodie the hart onely excepted.⁵

A "furnace-burning" heart will overheat the brain and make the victim mad; an over-hot brain cannot cool the eye; an over-hot eye will manufacture tears "seven times salt". Laertes' speech may be extravagant, but he can pack an astonishing deal of medical lore into a single line.

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⁴ *Batman vpon Bartholome* (London, 1582), p. 22.

⁵ *A Treatise of Melancholie* (London, 1586), pp. 147-148.

A NEW ANALOGUE AND POSSIBLE SOURCE FOR THE TAMING OF A SHREW

JOHN W. SHROEDER

The major sources of the anonymous play which first appeared in quarto in 1594 as *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, called The taming of a Shrew*, we can identify confidently. The sub-plot of the Disguised Wooer evidently derives at some remove from Ariosto's *I Suppositi*. The main plot of the Shrew Tamed must surely come from some original much like the Jutland folk tale—first

collected by Sven Grundtvig—of the Three Shrewish Sisters, a tale which corresponds in so many important particulars to *A Shrew's* Kate-Ferando plot that the resemblances cannot be merely adventitious.¹ (Proponents of the theory that the main source of *A Shrew* is in fact a lost play from which both *A Shrew* and Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* stem, must understand that I do not write in ignorance of their arguments. However, it seems to me that talking about analogues and sources which are extant is preferable to talking about those which are not; and since the analogue to be presented here is, like the Jutland tale itself, closer in its details to the anonymous than to the Shakespearean play, I have thought it allowable to write as though the former's integrity were not in dispute.)

Close as the Jutland tale is, in broad outline and in particulars, to the main plot of *A Shrew*, the two narratives here and there differ considerably. In both tale and play, a terrible Shrew is wooed by an impetuous, arbitrary suitor, wed, whisked away from her father's house, and quickly tamed to a model of wifely obedience. But concerning the occasion and the manner of her taming, the narratives disagree. The Shrew-tamer of the Jutland tale tames his bride while they travel from her home to his. As the newly-married pair ride along, the bridegroom drops his glove. "Pick it up!" he thrice commands his dog; and when the dog does not, shoots it. In a wooded place, later, the Tamer and his Shrew stop to rest; dismounting, the Tamer lets his horse graze untethered. When the horse has eaten its fill, the Tamer orders it—once, twice, thrice—to come to him; and when the horse does not, shoots it. Whereupon, runs the tale, "the wife was much astonished at that and determined directly never to contradict her husband."

The Kate of *A Shrew*, on the other hand, is tamed not on the homeward journey, but after the arrival of the bridal couple at the Tamer's country house. And the technique of her taming is a quite different one. For, says her husband *solus*,

Nor sleep nor meat shall she enjoy to-night,
I'll mew her up as men do mew their hawks,
And make her gently come unto the lure. (III. i. 46-48)

And true to his word, Ferando starves his wife (III. iii), a strategy unmatched in the Jutland analogue.

The final proof of the former Shrew's taming is handled in generally the same manner by both the folk tale and *A Shrew*; the following formula will apply equally well to either narrative: Back once more at the house of his wife's father, the Shrew-tamer competes—a stake being set—with the husbands of his wife's two sisters to see which of the three wives, all temporarily absent from the room, will come the quickest when summoned by her husband. The husbands of the other two sisters first call without success; it is the once terrible Shrew who comes jumping out as soon as she is called.

But again, though the two works agree broadly in their treatment of the wager-scene, they are not identical. In *A Shrew*, a supper table is the setting; supper is over, the ladies have left the room, the gentlemen, sitting around the

¹ For the Jutland tale, see Rinehold Köhler, "Zu Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*", *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, III (1868), 397-401. All references to *The Taming of a Shrew* are to the edition of F. S. Boas (New York, 1908).

table, search for some amusement before bed time, and hit upon the device of testing their wives' obedience by calling them one by one into the dining room. The Jutland tale proceeds differently. When, in it, the Tamer and his wife arrive at her father's, they find her two sisters and their husbands there before them. Directly, the girls' mother takes all three of her daughters to the bedroom, anxious to hear how marriage suits her once shrewish daughter. And then it is that the old father fills a jug with silver and gold, sets it on the table, and announces to his three sons-in-law the terms of the contest. *A Shrew's* motif of a bet made by the husbands after a meal is lacking here.

So we may say that in at least two important particulars, the method of the taming and the staging of the wager-scene, the folk tale and the play disagree. It may be, to be sure, that the author of *A Shrew* had as his source a version of the tale of the Three Shrewish Sisters which differed from the Jutland version in precisely these details; perhaps we deal with nothing more than variants of an European story on that favorite theme, the Taming of a Curs'd Wife. It is certainly curious that one of the Spanish analogues to the taming methods used in the Jutland tale sets the exemplary slaughter of the Tamer's dog, cat, and horse at the supper table of the Tamer and his bride (Boas, p. xix). But we cannot be certain that the actual source of *A Shrew* contained this particular detail; and in any case, Ferando's taming methods remain unique, and unmatched in the known analogues.

A newly discovered analogue to the main plot of *A Shrew*, consequently, seems worth publication, for it supplies precisely what the presently known analogues do not: material identical with those incidents in *A Shrew* for which the Jutland tale affords no parallels; and it may even be, as I shall later suggest, no mere analogue, but rather a source for part of *A Shrew*. I refer to the tale of Queen Vastis given in Caxton's translation (1484) of the *Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*²:

I shal telle you another ensample of a quene that was named vastys. She was wyf to the kyng Assuerus.³ It befelle that the Kyng held a feste with his barons, and there were alle the grete lordes of his londe. They satte att dyner in a hall, and the quene in another. And whanne the barons had dynded they prayd the kyng that he wold vouchesauf to shewe them the quene, whiche was merueylously fayr. The kyng sente for her ones, twyes, and thryes, but neuer she daygned to come, wherof the kyng had grete shame, and demaunded of his barons counceyll what therof he myght best do. And suche was the counceyll gyuen; that is to wete, that he shold put her fro hym, and made her to be lockked & shette bitwene two wallys, that euery other shold take therby ensample, to be better obedyent to theyr lord than she was. And so after theyr counceyll dyde the kyng his wyf to be mured, and herof he made a lawe that fro then forthon al wymmen y^t shold of any thyng wythsaye & be disobedyent to her lord, seyng that it be reson-

² *The Booke of Thenseynementes and Techynges that the Knyght of the Towre made to his Daughters by the Chevalier Geoffroy de La Tour Landry*, ed. Gertrude B Rawlings (London, 1902), pp. 102-103. Yet another analogue to the wager-scene—Caxton's tale of "How a Woman Sprange vpon the Table", Rawlings, pp. 48-50—was found in this same text and announced by Albert H. Tolman in his "Shakespeare's Part in the 'Taming of the Shrew'", *PMLA*, V (1890), 238-239. I find still a third analogue to *A Shrew*, a more distant one, in Caxton's chapter on "How a Woman ought to Obeie her Husband in alle thynges Honest" (Rawlings, p. 113).

³ See the biblical Vashti and Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther.

able, that she shold be a yere within two wallys, and with litil mete and drynke for her defeaute. And as yet they kepe and hold that custome in that londe. The quene that sawe her put in mew was sore ashamed, & wepte and sorowed moche, but it was to late, for notwithstandinge her mournynge and lamentacion she was putte in pryson, as aboue is sayd, where she was a yere. Therefore wel ye ought to take here good ensample, for specially before folke ye ought to doo the commaundement of your lord, and obeysshe and bere hym honour, and euer shewe hym semblaüt of loue, yf ye wyll haue the loue of hym and of the world.

The analogue does not everywhere match *A Shrew*: most notably, where *A Shrew* has three wives, each called but once in the wager-scene, the tale of Vastis has but one, called by her husband thrice; where in *A Shrew* the third summons is obeyed, Vastis comes not at all; and Caxton's taming story lacks the motif of the wager.

But the similarities are none the less remarkable. Caxton's setting is a dining table, and it is *after* the company have dined that they urge the king to call forth his wife—precisely the technique of *A Shrew*. And Assuerus' treatment of his recalcitrant wife chimes with Ferando's own Shrew-taming strategy:

Nor sleep nor meat shall she enjoy to-night,
I'll mew her up as men do mew their hawks,
And make her gently come unto the lure.

... she shold be a yere within two wallys, and with litil mete and drynke for her defeaute. ... The quene that sawe her put in mew was sore ashamed, & wepte and sorowed moche. ...

Two hypotheses may be invoked in explanation of the close parallels, of incident and even of language, between the tale of Vastis and *A Shrew's* main plot. It may be, as I have said, that Caxton's tale here reproduces material also once found in the lost source of *A Shrew*. Or it may be that Caxton's tale is itself one source of the play, *A Shrew's* author drawing from it certain details for the augmentation of his primary source. Either hypothesis would serve, but I incline to favor the latter. *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry* is, with its constant admonition that a wife ought "to do the commandment of [her] lord, and obey and bear him honour", precisely the text a playwright interested in the subject of Shrews and their taming might with profit consult. And if this circumstance be rejected as without bearing on the problem of whether the author of *A Shrew* indeed did consult it, there still remains one remarkable connection between the two narratives to suggest that *A Shrew's* author had lately read Caxton.

For a noteworthy thing about Vastis' punishment is that it explains the confusion in Ferando's mind about mewing up hawks. Hawks are not mewed up to be trained to a lure; they are mewed up for molting. The ignorance on the part of *A Shrew's* author of this fact has been taken by G. I. Duthie as an indication that *A Shrew* is a "memorially reconstructed" text, and Ferando's talk about training his wife a garbled version of some similar lines in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* in which Petruchio metaphorically and accurately discusses the manner in which he will train his "falcon", Kate, to the lure

by disturbing her rest and stinting her diet.⁴ But Petruchio's lines, I submit, do no more than witness that Shakespeare, unlike the author of *A Shrew*, understood falconry; and being themselves accurate, they provide no basis for Ferando's misunderstanding. Caxton, conversely, does provide such a basis; a man unacquainted with falconry might read the tale of Vastis and conclude that "to put in new" means to confine and starve for the purpose of promoting docility and obedience.

In sum, it is the suggestion of this paper that among the important analogues of *The Taming of a Shrew*, Caxton's tale of Queen Vastis should be numbered. Caxton's tale provides two important motifs not found in the closest analogue to *A Shrew* so far announced, the Jutland tale of the Three Shrewish Sisters, viz., the postprandial setting for the summoning of the wives, and the confinement and starvation of the Shrew. The Caxton analogue suggests this formula for the composition of *A Shrew's* main plot: a lost source similar in most details, possibly including that of the method by which the Shrew is tamed, to the Jutland tale, this lost source being significantly modified, however, by motifs selected from Caxton's tale of Vastis. The Caxton analogue is, let it be said in conclusion, closer to *A Shrew* than it is to Shakespeare's *The Shrew* in one respect. For Petruchio, unlike Ferando, has not a word to say about mewing-up his wife: Kate's confinement is no part of his taming-program.

Northwestern University

⁴G. I. Duthie, "The Taming of a Shrew and The Taming of the Shrew", *RES*, XIX (1943), 341-342. I have simplified Duthie's theory here; the full theory assumes a lost *Shrew* play, perhaps Shakespearian, in which Petruchio's speech first appeared.

A NOTE ON SHAKESPEARE'S MOTLEY

SIDNEY THOMAS

Since its publication in 1952, Dr. Leslie Hotson's book on *Shakespeare's Motley* has won general acceptance for its thesis that the motley of the Elizabethan fool had nothing to do with the parti-coloured garment of the earlier court jester. In the light of Dr. Hotson's confident assertion that "motley" and "parti-coloured" had completely different meanings in Shakespeare's time, it may be interesting to consider the following passage (Aii^v) from *The Three Ladies of London*, printed in 1584:

Enter Dissimulation, hauing on a Farmers long coat, and
a cappe, and his powle and beard painted motley.

Dissim. Nay no lesse then a farmar, a right honest man
But my toong can not stay me to tell what I am:
Nay who is it that knowes me not by my partie coloured head?

New York

Notes and Comments

FRONTISPIECE AND ILLUSTRATIONS

A few of the buildings known to Shakespeare are extant, but many have fallen, victims of fire or war or "progress". The Frontispiece and the illustrations on pages 146, 160, 176, 184, 200, and 218, show seven scenes that were familiar to Shakespeare. On most of them, Time has laid a heavy hand.

FOREIGN SCHOLARS ADDED TO ADVISORY BOARD

In recognition of the increasing scope and widening influence of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, it has been decided to enlarge the Advisory Board by adding to each of the three groups of members two prominent Shakespearians from other countries. Action was taken at a special meeting of the Directors of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., in New York City on 18 March 1959. The following names had been recommended by Professor William T. Hastings, Chairman of the Advisory Board:

Sir Walter Wilson Greg
Professor Allardyce Nicoll
Professor Mario Praz

Dr. Rudolf Alexander Schroeder
Professor D. Nichol Smith
Professor Harold S. Wilson

and each had indicated his willingness to serve. Shortly before the date of the special meeting, Sir Walter Greg's life ended suddenly and quietly. The other five were appointed by acclamation and are listed on the page facing page 137 of this number.

It is appropriate to call to mind some of the accomplishments of these distinguished colleagues. Professor Allardyce Nicoll, to begin alphabetically, sometime Professor at London University, Yale, and Birmingham University, is the founder and Director of the Shakespeare Institute at Stratford-upon-Avon and the founder and editor of *Shakespeare Survey*. Most of his publications relate to the history of the stage. Professor Mario Praz, of the Universities of Rome and Florence, a translator of Shakespeare, is the author of a score of volumes dealing with Anglo-Italian literature and culture and is the editor of *English Notes*. Dr. Rudolf Alexander Schroeder, poet and author, is the long-time President of the Deutsche Shakespeare Gesellschaft. He has translated much of Shakespeare and published translations from Homer, Virgil, and Horace. Professor David Nichol Smith, of Merton College, Oxford, is best known to Shakespearians for his *Shakespeare Criticism* and his *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*. Professor Harold S. Wilson, of University College, Toronto, was until recently a member of the Editorial Board of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, and he continues to assist. His latest book is *On the Design of Shakespearian Tragedy*.

It is much to be regretted that the special meeting of the Directors was not held a few weeks earlier, so that Sir Walter Greg might have been appointed to the Advisory Board. More than any other man in this century, he guided the

course of Shakespeare studies. Almost from his first publication, he seemed to recognize what was needful to be known and led the way to its discovery and use. His edition of the Henslowe documents brought academic studies back into the playhouse. His lists of plays and masques showed the need of a Bibliography of the English printed drama to the Restoration. *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses* helped to build the foundation for the discovery of the nature of dramatic texts in manuscript and print, the starting point of sound textual study. And his publications on the editorial problems in Shakespeare and the printing of the First Folio were both a consolidation of position and original explorations. In the councils of the Malone Society, which he served many years as General Editor, and the Bibliographical Society, which honored him with its presidency, his influence was far reaching and formative.



FILIPINO STUDENT HONORED

The Spring award of the Shakespeare Society of Washington for outstanding accomplishment in Shakespeare studies was presented by President F. M. Van Natter to Miss Alicia Salva de Leon, a graduate student at American University. Miss de Leon graduated, magna cum laude, from the University of the Philippines in 1956 and will receive her M.A. degree in June from American University, where she is a graduate assistant in the English Department. Following a summer at the Shakespeare Institute at Stratford-upon-Avon, she will go to the Far Eastern University to teach English. The presentation ceremonies were broadcast on the radio and were televised.

Contributors

- Dr. JOHN ARTHOS is Professor of English at the University of Michigan.
- Miss MURIEL C. BRADBROOK, Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, is in the United States during the current academic year as a Fellow at the Folger Shakespeare Library and at the Henry E. Huntington Library.
- Mr. O. B. DAVIS is Chairman of the English Department at Kent School.
- Dr. ROBERT J. DENT, of the University of California at Los Angeles, who assisted Professor P. A. Jorgensen in the 1958 Shakespeare Bibliography, has succeeded to the post of Bibliographer for the year 1959.
- PHILIP EDWARDS, Esq., of the English Department of Birmingham University, is editing the works of Philip Massinger.
- Dr. RAY L. HEFFNER, JR., of Indiana University, has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for the coming academic year.
- THOMAS RICE HENN, Esq., of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, is the author of a number of books, the most recent of which is *Harvest of Tragedy*.
- T. WALTER HERBERT is Professor of English at the University of Florida.
- Professor PAUL A. JORGENSEN, of the University of California at Los Angeles, publishes in this number his fifth Annual Shakespeare Bibliography. He retired from the post of Bibliographer at the end of 1958, having trained as his successor Professor Robert W. Dent, who assisted him in 1958.
- Dr. F. DAVID HOENIGER, of Victoria College, University of Toronto, has in preparation an edition of *Pericles* in the New Arden series.
- Professor LUDWIG WERNER KAHN, of The City College, New York, is a specialist in romantic and post-romantic German literature and in the history of Shakespeare's Sonnets in Germany.
- Mr. JOSEPH F. KENNEDY, of Glendora, California, is a Shakespeare amateur with a particular interest in film strips and recordings as aids to the study and enjoyment of Shakespeare.
- Dr. EDGAR H. LEHRMAN, Assistant Professor of Russian at the Pennsylvania State University, wrote his doctoral dissertation (Columbia) on the subject of Soviet appreciation of Shakespeare, 1917-1952, and has in preparation a volume of selected letters of Turgenev.
- Professor JOHN M. MAJOR, of the University of Colorado, is writing a book on Sir Thomas Elyot.
- KENNETH MUIR, Esq., Professor of English at the University of Liverpool, is bringing out a series of volumes on Shakespeare's sources.
- Dr. GORDON W. O'BRIEN, author of *Renaissance Poetics and the Problem of Power*, is Professor of English at Youngstown University.
- Professor JIRO OZU is a member of the English Department of Tokyo University.
- J. H. P. PAFFORD, Esq., Goldsmiths' Librarian of London University, has edited several volumes for the Malone Society and is about to publish an edition of *The Winter's Tale* for the New Arden Shakespeare.
- Professor IRVING RIBNER, of Tulane University, is a Fulbright Fellow in England in 1958-1959.
- Dr. ERNST J. SCHLOCHAUER is a member of the English staff of Queen's College, Flushing, New York.
- Dr. DANIEL SELTZER is a Teaching Fellow in English at Harvard.
- Professor PETER J. SENG is a member of the English Department of Northwestern University.
- Dr. JOHN W. SHROEDER, Assistant Professor of English at Northwestern University, is author of *The Great Folio of 1623*.
- JOHN M. STEADMAN, III, Esq., of Oxford, is engaged in a series of studies of the Sonnets.
- Dr. BRENTS STIRLING is Professor of English at the University of Washington.
- Dr. SIDNEY THOMAS, of Douglastown, New York, is a specialist in Shakespeare's early plays.
- Mrs. TOMMY RUTH WALDO is a piano instructor in the Department of Music at the University of Florida and a part-time graduate student in English.
- Dr. SAMUEL A. WEISS is a member of the English Department of Knoxville College.

Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography for 1958

PAUL A. JORGENSEN, Editor
University of California, Los Angeles

ROBERT W. DENT, Associate Editor
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THE following bibliography, which includes only works directly relating to Shakespeare, attempts to list all items of interest to the scholar, the actor and producer, and the general reader. A number of books and articles which may be of use to those concerned with Shakespeare have therefore been included, even though they do not represent original contributions to knowledge or criticism. And although no attempt has been made to achieve exhaustive coverage of journalistic reviews of productions or books, there will usually be found a representative body of such selections—particularly those of foreign origin and those dealing with Shakespearean festivals. Similarly

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 14. "International Notes", *SS* 11, pp. 117-123.
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 16. Kindervater, Jos. Wilh. and Erich Thurmman. "Shakespeare-Bibliographie für 1957", *SJ*, XCIV, 316-361.
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21. Muir, Kenneth. "The Year's Contributions to Shakespearian Study. 1. Critical Studies", *SS* 11, pp. 136-142.
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This Players Edition preserves, from Alexander's Tudor Shakespeare, the text, introduction, appendix, and glossary, with addition of two dozen pictures of leading actors and actresses.
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33. *The Heritage Shakespeare*, ed. by Peter Alexander. New York: The Heritage Press.
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171. *Sonnets*, ed. by L. Fox (Corman House Series). London: Jarrold. Pp. 168.
172. *Sonnets to a Dark Lady, and Others*. Mount Vernon, New York: Peter Pauper Press. Pp. 31.
173. *Sonnette*. Englisch und Deutsch i.d. Übertragung von Gottlob Regis. Hrsg. u. mit einem Nachwort vers. v. E. A. Greeven. 2. Aufl. Hamburg. Pp. 322.
174. *The Sonnets of Shakespeare—Shakespeare Szonettjei*. Bi-lingual ed., tr. by Pál Justus. Budapest: Corvina Publishing Co., 1956. Pp. 344.
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175. *Shishu (Sonn.)*, tr. into Japanese by Kenichi Yoshida. Fujisawa: Ikeda shoten, 1956. Pp. 118.
176. *Shakespeares Sonette*. Erste vollständige ukrainische Übersetzung mit Kommentar und Anmerkungen von Eaghör G. Kostetzky. Munich. Pp. 254.
177. *Sonety Shekspira*. Desiat Sonetov Shekspira. Moscow, 1957. Pp. 37.
Musical settings for Shak's sonnets.
178. *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. by Francis Fergusson and Charles Jasper Sisson (Laurel Shakespeare), With a Modern Commentary by Margaret Webster. New York: Dell Publishing Co. Pp. 190.
Includes Introduction and Shakespeare and His Theatre by Fergusson, A Director's Comments on Staging "The Taming of the Shrew" by Webster, Suggestions for Further Reading, and Glossary.
179. *The Taming of the Shrew* (French's Acting Edition). London: French. Pp. x + 79.
180. *The Taming of the Shrew*, arranged by Henry S. Taylor (Shorter Shakespeare Series). London: Ginn. Pp. viii + 104.
181. *The Taming of the Shrew*. With introduction and notes by E. Ratto Corneli. Rome: Signorelli, 1957. Pp. 108.
182. *De jeeks words getemd (Shrew)*. Ingel. en vert. door Wim Courteaux (Klassieke galerij 121). Amsterdam: Wereldbibl., 1957. Pp. xii + 90.
183. *La Mégère Apprivoisée*, Adaptée par J.

- Audiberti, dans une adaption théâtrale. Paris: Gallimard, 1957.
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185. *La bisbetica domata (Shrew)*, trad. di Ugo Dèttore (Biblioteca universale Rizzoli, no. 1115). Milan: Rizzoli, 1957. Pp. 91.
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190. *La tempesta*, tr. by U. Dèttore (Biblioteca universale Rizzoli, no. 1280). Milano: Biblioteca universale Rizzoli. Pp. 77.
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194. *Titus Andronicus*, ed. by G. B. Harrison (Penguin Shakespeare). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. Pp. 123.
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196. *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by J. Dover Wilson and Alice Walker (New Shakespeare). Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. lvi + 254.
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197. *Troilus and Cressida* (Argo Record Co., London, 4 LPs). Marlowe Society of Cambridge.
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198. *Troilo e Crésida*, trad. por Henrique Braga. Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1955. Pp. 244.
199. *Twelfth Night*, ed. with commentary by S. C. Boorman (London English Literature Series). Univ. of London Press. Pp. 160.
Intended for boys and girls at the Ordinary level of the General Certificate in English.
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200. *Twelfth Night*, ed. by Charles Tyler Prouty (Pelican Shakespeare). Baltimore: Penguin Books. Pp. 121.
201. *Twelfth Night*, ed. by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (Cambridge Pocket Shakespeare). Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. 100.
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202. *Twelfth Night*, text and notes. Madras (India): Little Flower.
203. *Twelfth Night*, in *Eight Great Comedies*, ed. by Sylvan Barnet, Morton Berman, and William Burto (Mentor Book). New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., pp. 107-172.
204. *Wieczór trzech króli, albo, co chcecie (Twel.)*, tr. into Polish by Stanisław Dygat. Warsaw: Państw. Instytut Wydawn., 1955. Pp. 179.

205. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. A Critical Old-Spelling Edition, ed. by Frederick O. Waller. Dept. of Photographic Reproduction, Univ. of Chicago, 1957. Microfilm no. 5423 PR.
206. *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by S. L. Bethell (New Clarendon Shakespeare). Oxford, 1956.
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207. *Das Wintermärchen* (Reclam's Universal-Bibl., no. 152). Dt. v. Dorothea Tieck. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1957. Pp. 103.
208. *Conto de inverno (W.T.)*, trad. por Henrique Braga. Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1955. Pp. 196.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES RELATING TO SHAKESPEARE

209. Abel, D. H. "De Caesare Panegyricus Marci Antoni", *Classical Journal*, LIII, 262.
210. "Age of Shakespeare: Exhibition at the Gemeentemuseum, the Hague", *Museums Journal*, LVII, 268.
211. Akrigg, G. P. V. "Shakespeare's Living Sources—An Exercise in Literary Detection", *Queen's Quarterly* (Canada), LXV, 239-250.
Shak. scholarship is not the played-out mine many believe it to be. Notes parallels between Polonius and the Earl of Dorset; between the story of Katherine Hamlet, who drowned accidentally in the Avon when *Shak.* was 15, and Ophelia; and between Brian Annesley and his daughter Cordell and Lear. These people may have intruded themselves in *Shak.*'s plays through his subconscious. Their existence suggests possibilities for re-dating many of the plays.
212. Akrigg, G. P. V. "*Twelfth Night* at the Middle Temple", *SQ*, IX, 422-424.
Twel. "was tailor-made for the Middle Temple", with this institution's architecture and its appreciation of legal allusions.
213. Alexander, Edward. "Shakespeare's Plays in Armenia", *SQ*, IX, 387-394.
Translations (particularly that of Hovhannes Mahseyan), productions, and criticism are an important part of Armenian culture and have become even more so since native nationalist literature has been repressed by the Soviets or confined into acceptable patterns. *Shak.* criticism suffers from a Marxist bias.
214. Allen, Don Cameron (ed.). *Studies in Honor of T. W. Baldwin*. Univ. of Illinois Press. Pp. 276.
Shak. essays are listed separately: nos. 263, 341, 398, 584a, 586a, 840.
215. Allen, John. *Great Moments in the Theatre*. Illustrated by Joanna Riley. London: Phoenix House.
For young readers. Gives accounts of the building of the Globe Theatre, and of *Shak.* at the two Stratfords in the New World.
Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Nov. 21, Children's Book Section, p. xxxii.
216. Alpers, B. "Russkij Gamlet", *Teatr* (Moscow), XVI.viii (1955), 65-80.
217. Amphlett, H. *Who Was Shakespeare? A New Enquiry*. Intro. by Christmas Humphreys. Rindge, N. H.: Richard R. Smith, 1957.
218. Anikst, Alexander, "Byt' ili ne byt' u nas Gamletu", *Teatr* (Moscow), XVI.iii (1955), 62-81.
219. Anikst, A. "'Sein oder Nichtsein' unsres Hamlet", *Kunst und Literatur*, IV (1956), 41-60.
- 219a. *Annual Report and Statement of Accounts*. Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's Birthplace. Stratford-upon-Avon.
220. Appleton, William W. *Beaumont and Fletcher: A Critical Study*. London, 1956.
Rev. briefly by Harold S. Wilson in *SQ*, IX, 81-82.
221. Arnold, Paul. *Esoterik im Werke Shakespeares*. Aus dem Französischen übertragen von Marie Mankiewicz. Berlin: Karl H. Henssel.
See 1956 Bibl., no. 156, for French original.

- Rev. by Jan W. Simons in *SJ*, XCIV, 309-312.
222. "Around the World in Eleven Plays", *Theatre Arts*, Mar., pp 54-56.
Cym. by National Theatre of Greece in Athens, *Ham.* in Brazil by Sergio Cardoso, and Verdi's *Otello* at the State Opera House, Ankara, Turkey.
223. Arthos, John. "The Fall of Othello", *SQ*, IX, 93-104.
The fall occurred in the state of the soul before the deed and involved Othello's devotion to his own "complete soul"—i.e., the integrity of the self.
224. Atthill, Robin. "Set Books: XII: *Henry IV, Part II*", *The Use of English*, IX, 253-258.
Teaching of the play in school.
225. "Audiences Bigger Than Ever, Stratford Bonds a Hit Too", *Financial Post* (Canada), Oct. 4, p. 4.
Stratford, Ontario, *Shak.* Festival.
226. Bačelis, T. "Svjaž vremen", *Teatr* (Moscow), XVII (1956), 84-97.
227. Bachrach, A. G. H. *Naar Het Hem Leek . . . Een Inleiding tot Shakespeare in Vijf Brieven* (Ooievaar 62). Den Haag: Bert Bakker, 1957. Pp. 272.
Rev. briefly by R. W. Zandvoort in *ES*, XXXIX, 92.
228. *Background Data of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival Foundation of Canada*. Stratford: Ontario Shakespearean Festival Foundation. Pp. 23.
229. Baeckström, Tord. "Shakespeare med och utan fernissa" (*Shak.* varnished and unvarnished), *Göteborgs Handelstidning* (Göteborg), Jul. 14.
230. Baker, Arthur E. *A Shakespeare Commentary*. New York, 1957. Re-issue.
Rev. briefly by L. LaMont Okey in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIV, 201-202; briefly by M. E. Bradford in *SQ*, IX, 581-582.
231. Baldwin, T. W. *Shakespeare's Love's Labor's Won*. Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1957.
Rev. in *TLS*, Feb. 21, p. 102; by W. W. Greg in *MLR*, LIII, 238-239; by R. C. Bald in *MP*, LV, 276-279; by George Hibbard in *N&Q*, n.s., V, 276; by Giles E. Dawson in *JEGP*, LVII, 542-545; by Henry K. Zbiersky in *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny*, V, 154-156.
232. "Bankside Players", *Drama*, Summer, p. 15.
Story of the *Shak.* Memorial Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon.
233. Barber, C. L. *The Idea of Honour in the English Drama, 1591-1700*. Göteborg, 1957.
Rev. by Hans Andersson in *Moderna språk*, LII, 301-304; by H. W. Donner in *Studia Neophilologica*, XXX, 120-124; by John Harold Wilson in *SQ*, IX, 576-577.
234. Barish, Jonas A. and Marshall Waingrow. "Service' in *King Lear*", *SQ*, IX, 347-355.
Both in iteration of the word *service* and in the complex meanings given to the master-servant relationship, the play can be interpreted as a study of true and false service.
235. Barkway, M. "Stratford Magic is Still Strong", *Financial Post* (Canada), Jul. 19, p. 14.
Stratford, Ontario, *Shak.* Festival.
236. Barnet, Sylvan. "Coleridge on Puns: a note to his Shakespeare Criticism", *JEGP*, LVI (1957), 602-609.
Coleridge's defense of *Shak.*'s puns—that they were appropriate to character—is now inadequate, since we are aware of far more puns, and rhetorical reasons for puns, than Coleridge knew or cared to recognize.
237. Barnet, Sylvan. "Coleridge's Marginalia in Stockdale's Shakespeare of 1784", *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XII, 210-219.
Reprint of Coleridge's comments in a copy of *Stockdale's Edition of Shakespeare: Including in One Volume the Whole of his Dramatic Works*, the copy being formerly in the hands of Mrs. Ann Gillman.
238. Barroll, J. Leeds. "Antony and Pleasure", *JEGP*, LVII, 708-720.
The "pleasure" causing Antony's fall is a complex of gluttony, lust, and sloth; it corrupts his greatness and drives him to his end, "unreclaimed and deluded".

239. Barroll, J. Leeds. "Scarrus and the Scarred Soldier", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXII, 31-39.
Suggests that two separate characters in *Antony* are actually one. The character designated variously as "soldiour", "soul", "sold.", and "sol.", is identical with Scarrus ("Scar").
240. Barroll, J. Leeds. "Shakespeare and Roman History", *MLR*, LIII, 327-343.
The Elizabethan view of world history, stressing God's providence, Rome as the destined fourth monarchy, and Augustus as an ideal emperor, is probably the view reflected in *Shak.*'s Roman tragedies.
241. Barton, Thomas P. "The Library's First Folio of Shakespeare", *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, X, 63-75.
A reprint of Barton's account, "Description of a Copy of the First Folio Edition of the Plays of Shakespeare Now in the Collection of T. P. Barton". This encompasses pagination, title-page, signatures, general condition; condition in detail, such as lost portions of the text, mending, stains, writing on the leaves; and size. Includes also reprints of three letters from Thomas Rodd, the bookseller, to Barton, relating to the sale of the Folio.
242. Bawcutt, N. W. "More Echoes in Pope's Poetry", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 220-221.
Cites *Shak.* among others.
243. Belskie, Abram. "John Gregory's Shakespeare Bas-reliefs", *SQ*, IX, 397-398.
An appreciation of nine bas-relief panels, depicting *Shak.*'s plays, on the north side of the Folger Library. Two full-page plates.
244. Benezet, Louis P. *The Six Loves of Shakespeare*. New York: Pageant. Pp. 126.
Sonn. are the personal record of the Earl of Oxford, and are addressed to Queen Elizabeth, his two wives, his mistress, Anne Vivasors, to their son Edward, and to the Earl of Southampton, his prospective son-in-law.
Rev. briefly by Hudson Rogers in *English Journal*, XLVII, 527-528.
245. Bentley, Gerald Eades. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Plays and Playwrights*. Vols. III-V. Oxford Univ. Press, 1956.
Rev. briefly in *SNL*, VIII, 3 (including Vols. I-II, 1941); by Harold Jenkins in *RES*, n.s., IX, 196-202.
246. Benz-Burger, Lydia. "Shakespeare auf den Schweizer Bühnen", *SJ*, XCIV, 248-252.
247. Bernad, Miguel A. "Othello comes to town: Orson Welles and Edmund Kean", *Philippine Studies*, IV (1956), 3-14.
248. Bernheimer, Richard. "Another Globe Theatre", *SQ*, IX, 19-29.
Reprints and comments on "a visual representation of a theatre of the Elizabethan type" found in a 1619 book on mnemonics, Robert Fludd's *De Naturali, Supernaturali, Praeternaturali, et Contranaturali Microcosmi Historia*. The theatre apparently was designed for English touring players in Germany and has certain features, lacking in other records, that an English playhouse must have had.
249. Berry, Francis. *Poets' Grammar*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Pp. 190.
Includes chapters on *Shak.* and Elizabethan drama. Besides differentiating between *thou* and *you* in *Sonn.*, Berry finds that *Macb.* is dominated by a Future Indicative combined with Macbeth's own Future Subjunctive of endless worry; the romantic comedies, by a Continuous Present; *Troi.*, by a Present-Past Present; etc.
Rev. in *TLS*, May 16, p. 270.
250. Berry, Francis. "Thou' and 'You' in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*", *EC*, VIII, 138-146.
The choice of pronouns is determined by the relationship—specifically the distance—between the "I" and the object of his address.
251. Berton, Jean-Claude. *Shakespeare et Claudel. Le temps et l'espace au théâtre*. Geneva: La Palatine; Paris: Plon. Pp. 224.
252. Biancotti, Angiolo. *Guglielmo Shakespeare*. Torino: Societa Editrice In-

- ternazionale, 1957. Pp. viii + 307 con dodici tavole.
253. Birch, Marguerite I. "Drama in Sydney", *Australian Quarterly*, XXX, 123-125.
Production of *Titus* by the Sydney University Players.
254. Blissett, William. "Strange without Heresy" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, 5.1.1-6), *ES*, XXXVIII (1957), 209-211.
Hesitantly proposes a punning allusion to Lord Strange.
255. Bloch, Ernst. "Figuren der Grenzüberschreitung: Faust und Wette um den erfüllten Augenblick", *Sinn u. Form*, VIII (1956), 177-212.
Hamlet, verschlossener Wille; Prosopero, grundlose Freude, pp. 205-212.
256. Bludau, Diethild. "Sonettstruktur bei Samuel Daniel", *SJ*, XCIV, 63-89.
Reestimates *Delia's* greatness, finding it in "die Verbindung von Form und Bewegung, Sinn und Zeit zur Sinnbewegung". *Shak's* sonnets joined this element of Daniel with Sidney's independence of thought and antithetical logic.
257. Blum, Daniel. *Theatre World, Season 1955-56*, Vol. XII. New York: Greenberg, 1957. Pp. 256.
Listings of productions and performances, opening and closing dates, casts, and biographies of actors and actresses.
Rev. by Wayne Bowman in *Players Magazine*, XXXIV, 92.
258. Boberg, Inger Margrethe. "Saxo's Hamlet", *American-Scandinavian Review*, XLIV (1956), 50-56.
259. Bodmer, Martin. "Zum Thema Shakespeare", *Variationen zum Thema Weltliteratur* [471], pp. 208-211.
260. Bonjour, Adrien. *Résonances Shakespearriennes* (Leçon inaugurale). Neuchâtel: Secrétariat de l'Université. Pp. 24.
On the significance of apparently unimportant words, phrases, lines when seen in relation to the whole work, as "And men are flesh and blood . . ." (*Caesar*), "For 'tis the sport to have the engineer hoist with his own petar" (*Ham.*), and "it provokes the desire, but it takes away the performance" (*Macb.*).
261. Bonjour Adrien. *The Structure of Julius Caesar* (with a Preface by Kenneth Muir). Liverpool Univ. Press. Pp. 81.
Shows how carefully balanced the whole structure is in broad outline, how subtly secondary themes are fitted into the general scheme to enhance its significance, how essentially structural the very imagery of the drama is.
262. Boor, Ján. "Poznámky k našej shakespearovskej dramaturgii", *Slovenské divadlo* (Bratislava), VI, 68-70.
Appeals for enlargement of *Shak.* repertoire in view of the 1964 anniversary.
263. Borinski, Ludwig. "The Origins of the Euphuistic Novel and its Significance for Shakespeare", in *Studies in Honor of T. W. Baldwin*, ed. by Don Cameron Allen, Univ. of Illinois Press, pp. 38-52.
The euphuistic novel is the most important of the four literary traditions central to *Shak's* dramatic development, underlying even some of the major motifs in his later work.
264. Borinski, Ludwig. "Vers und Text in den Dramen-manuskripten", *Anglia*, LXXV (1957), 391-410.
265. Bourjaily, Vance. *The Violated*. New York: Dial Press.
A novel, the second part of which is concentrated on a production of *Ham.*
Rev. by Granville Hicks in *Saturday Review*, Aug. 23, p. 13.
266. Bowers, Fredson (ed.). *Studies in Bibliography*, IX. Charlottesville, Virginia, 1957.
Rev. by C. William Miller in *JEGP*, LVII, 106-108; by J. C. T. Oates in *The Library*, XIII, 70-71; by A. N. L. Munby in *MLR*, LIII, 232-233; by L. F. Peck in *CE*, XIX, 232-233; by Arthur Brown in *RES*, n.s., IX, 340-341.
267. Bowers, Fredson (ed.). *Studies in Bibliography*, XI. Charlottesville, Virginia: Bibliographical Society of the Univ. of Virginia. Pp. 297.
Contains 3 articles dealing with the textual problems of *Shak.* and his contemporaries: nos. 424, 911, 929.
Rev. in *TLS*, Jun. 13, p. 336.

268. Boyle, Walden P. *Central and Flexible Staging*. A New Theatre in the Making. Univ. of California Press, 1956.
Rev. briefly by Rev. Gilbert V. Hartke, O.P., in *SQ*, IX, 414-415.
269. Bradbrook, M. C. "Dramatic Role as Social Image; A Study of *The Taming of the Shrew*", *SJ*, XCIV, 132-150.
Relates *Shrew* to earlier and later literature of the "School for Henpecked Husbands", showing how *Shrew* "has the advantages both of novelty and familiarity".
270. Bradbrook, M. C. "An 'Ecce Homo' of the Sixteenth Century and the Pageants and Street Theatres of the Low Countries", *SQ*, IX, 424-426.
Painting, attributed to Pieter Aertsen of Amsterdam (1507-1573), though depicting Christ, has theatrical parallels and associations.
271. Bradbrook, M. C. *The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy*. London, 1955.
Rev. by John V. Curry, S.J., in *MLQ*, XIX, 75-76.
272. Bradbrook, M. C. "What Shakespeare Did to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*", *SQ*, IX, 311-319.
Unlike most commentaries, this essay is concerned not with the siege but with the story of *Troilus*. *Shak*'s contribution was to make the love story a symbol of universal disillusionment and to show not the beauty but the pettiness of evil.
273. Brahms, Caryl. "Hamlet 1958", *Plays and Players*, Sep., pp. 9-10.
Discussion of Bristol Old Vic's production of Bernard Kops's modern treatment of the Hamlet story, "The Hamlet of Stepney Green".
274. Brahms, Caryl. "It's all Happening", *Plays and Players*, Jul., p. 9.
Michael Benthall's *H. VIII* at the Old Vic.
275. Brahms, Caryl. "Juliet and Romeo", *Plays and Players*, May, p. 12.
Romeo directed by Glen Byam Shaw at Stratford-upon-Avon.
276. Brahms Caryl. "Not in the Folio", *Plays and Players*, Aug., p. 12.
Per. at Stratford-on-Avon.
277. Branam, George C. *Eighteenth-Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy*. Univ. of California Press, 1956.
Rev. by Marvin Rosenberg in *JEGP*, LVII, 130-133; by A. Parreaux in *Les Langues Modernes*, LI (1957), 610-611.
278. Branner, Per-Axel. "Londonteater: Shakespeare och Tjechov bjuder på överraskningar" (*Shak*, and Chekhov have surprises in store for us), *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm), Jun. 20.
279. Braun, Erich. *Das Legitimitätsprinzip in Shakespeares Königsdramen*. Msc. diss., 1957. Pp. 149.
280. Braun, Margarete. "Das Drama vor Shakespeare und seine Beziehungen zum Publikum", *SJ*, XCIV, 191-199.
On the changing attitudes toward dramatic illusion, and hence toward the actor-audience relationship, in pre-*Shak*., *Shak*., and today.
281. Bremer, Klaus. "Wie es euch gefällt 1956", *Das neue Forum* (Darmstadt), V (1955/56), 267-272.
282. Bridges-Adams, W. *The Irresistible Theatre*. Vol. I: From the Conquest to the Commonwealth. London, 1957.
Rev. by Barnard Hewitt in *Educational Theatre Journal*, X, 76-77. by Pat M. Ryan, Jr., in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIV, 89-90; in *Players Magazine*, XXXIV, 126; briefly in *SNL*, VIII, 38; by James G. McManaway in *SQ*, IX, 574.
283. Brien, Alan. "Mr. Lear's Tragedy", *Spectator*, Feb. 28, p. 263.
Douglas Seale's *Lear* at the Old Vic.
284. Brien, Alan. "Theatre", *Spectator*, Ap. 18, p. 483.
Romeo at Stratford-on-Avon.
285. Brien, Alan. "Theatre", *Spectator*, May 2, p. 558.
Twel. at Stratford-on-Avon.
286. Brien, Alan. "Theatre", *Spectator*, Jun. 13, p. 768.
Ham. at Stratford-on-Avon.
287. Brien, Alan. "Theatre", *Spectator*, Jul. 18, pp. 85-86.
Per. at Stratford-on-Avon.

288. Brien, Alan. "Theatre", *Spectator*, Aug. 1, p. 165.
Production of "The Hamlet of Stepmother Green".
289. Brien, Alan. "Theatre", *Spectator*, Sep. 5, pp. 305-306.
Douglas Seale's *Much* at Stratford-on-Avon.
290. Brien, Alan. "Theatre", *Spectator*, Oct. 17, pp. 513-514.
Caesar at the Old Vic.
291. Briley, John. "Edward Alleyn and Henslowe's Will", *SQ*, IX, 321-330.
New evidence from the Public Record Office discloses that Alleyn was less innocent than heretofore believed and that the suit brought by Henslowe's heirs was justified.
292. Brinkmann, Karl. *Erläuterungen zu Shakespeares Julius Caesar*. Hollfeld-Obfr.: Bange. Pp. 80.
293. Brock, Elizabeth. "Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*: A History of the Text from 1623 through 1821", Univ. of Virginia Diss., 1956, abstracted by Jack R. Brown in *SNL*, VIII, 36.
294. Brockbank, J. P. "History and Histori-
onics in *Cymbeline*", *SS* 11, pp. 42-49.
Imaginative attempt to show what *Shak.* did in terms of sources and analogues to produce something like an "historical-pastoral".
295. Bronson, Bertrand H. "Printing as an Index of Taste in Eighteenth Century England. Part II", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LXII, 443-462.
In part concerned with eighteenth-century editions of *Shak.* as reflecting changes in public taste.
296. Brook, Peter. "Titus Andronicus", *World Theatre*, VII, 27-29.
Notice and photographs of Sir Laurence Olivier's *Titus*.
297. Brown, Eluned. "A Note on Crabbe Robinson's Reactions to J. P. Kemble and Edmund Kean", *Theatre Notebook*, XIII, 14-18.
Comments on character interpretations of these actors, notably Kean's Shylock, Macbeth, Othello, and Timon, and Kemble's Wolsey.
298. Brown, Ivor. "What Kind of Stage", *Drama*, Spring, pp. 21-22.
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367. Dillingham, William B. "Bottom: the third ingredient", *Emory University Quarterly*, XII (1956), 230-237.
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382. Durrant, G. H. "What's in a Name? A Discussion of *Romeo and Juliet*", *Theoria*, VIII (1956), 23-36.
383. Duthie, Eric (ed.). *Children's Book of Famous Lives*. Odhams. Pp. 415.
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387. Eastman, Richard M. "Drama As Psychological Argument", *CE*, XIX, 327-332.
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390. Eggar, Katharine. "Shakespeare as a Musician", *Musical Times*, Sep., pp. 480-481.
391. "Eighth International Conference at Stratford", *SNL*, VIII, 4.
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395. Emery, Léon. *La Vision Shakespearienne du Monde et de l'Homme*. Lyon: Cahiers Libres, 1957. Pp. 150.
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397. Evans, A. J. *Shakespeare's Magic Circle*. London, 1956.
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400. Fairfax-Lucy, Alice. *Charlecote*. Oxford Univ. Press. Pp. [xiv] + 327.
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401. Falkenberg, Hans-Geert. "Shakespeares Trauerspiel 'Romeo und Julia'", *Blätter d. deutschen Theaters in Göttingen*, 1956/57, no. 106, pp. 118-120.
402. Falkenberg, Hans-Geert. "Zur Entstehungs- und Bühnengeschichte von Shakespeares 'Macbeth'", *Blätter d. deutschen Theaters in Göttingen*, 1956/57, no. 112, pp. 209-212.
403. Falkenberg, Hans-Geert. "Zur Entstehungs- und Bühnengeschichte von Shakespeares 'Romeo und Julia'", *Blätter d. deutschen Theaters in Göttingen*, 1956/57, no. 106, pp. 126-127.
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Commentary on the play, with a survey of the principal theories underlining the main ideas. For school use.
420. Flatter, Richard. "Shakespeare-Übersetzung und Weltanschauung", *Theater und Zeit*, 1956/57, pp. 109-111.
421. Flatter, Richard. *Triumph der Gnade*. *Shakespeare Essays*. Wien/München, 1956.
Rev. by A. Schlösser in *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, V (1957), 105-108.
422. Flatter, Richard. "Triumphierende Tragödie oder Shakespeares wahre Grösse", *Chronik des Wiener Goethevereins*, Bd. 61 (1957), pp. 1-9.
423. Flatter, Richard and Irmentraud Candius. "Eine Berichtigung und eine Antwort", *SJ*, XCIII (1957), 214-215.
On Flatter's trans. of *Dream*. (See 1956 Bibl., no. 218.)
424. Foakes, R. A. "On the First Folio Text of *Henry VIII*", *SB*, X, 55-60.
A compositorial study of *F1 H. VIII* suggests that the text derived from a carefully prepared MS, probably in a single hand. It does not seem to have been used as a prompt

- book. Variations in speech-headings, and the confusion these might cause in the theatre, suggest that it was based on "foul papers".
425. Fogel, Ephim G. "'A Table of Green Fields': A Defense of the Folio Reading", *SQ*, IX, 485-492.
Argument is based on Dame Quickly's habit of muddled ellipsis, on the medical significance of the nose in death, and on the creed that unnecessary emendations, however brilliant, should be consigned to the notes and not to the text of the play. (See also no. 453.)
426. Forker, Charles R. "'A Midsummer Night's Dream' and Chapman's Homer: An Unnoted Shakespeare Allusion", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 524.
Shak.'s "rude mechanicals" (*Dream*. III. iii. 9-10) is echoed in Chapman's *Odyssey*.
427. Forster, A. Haire. *Wit, Humor and the Comic in Shakespeare and Elsewhere*. New York, 1956.
Rev. briefly by J. R. Brown in *SQ*, IX, 415-416.
428. Frank, Victor S. "A Russian Hamlet: Boris Pasternak's Novel", *Dublin Review*, Autumn, pp. 212-220.
Includes a comparison of Pasternak's treatment of Dr. Zhivago and the precepts of his criticism of *Ham.*
429. Frankis, P. J. "The Testament of the Deer in Shakespeare", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, LIX, 65-68.
The theme of a dying deer bequeathing parts of his body to various people or for various purposes was part of a body of traditional lore which *Shak.* was aware of. The ultimate source is a poem entitled "The Testament of the Bucke" contained in MS Rawlinson C. 813 in the Bodleian Library, although this may not be the specific source of such passages as Jaques' speech on the dying deer in *A.Y.L.*
430. Fredén, Gustaf. *William Shakespeare*. Stockholm: Natur och kultur. Pp. 106.
Includes biographical material, treatment of dramatic tradition, and analysis of separate works.
Rev. by Allan Fagerström in *Af-*
tonbladet (Stockholm), Feb. 10; by Bernt Eklundh in *Göteborgstidningen* (Göteborg), Mar. 2; by Lennart Josephson in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (Malmö), Feb. 5; by Sig. Möhlenbrock in *Norrköpings tidningar* (Norrköping), May 10.
431. French, Carolyn Schorr. "King Lear: Poem or Play", *DA*, XIX, 797-798.
The first section presents an historical analysis of *Lear* to show how its dramatic values have been altered to suit new audience demands from the Restoration to the present. The second section demonstrates the differences between *Lear* and genuine Elizabethan closet drama in order to establish *Lear* as an actable play. *Lear* "is incomplete as a literary form and its poetry must be evaluated with consideration for its special function in performance".
432. Freudenstein, Reinhold. *Der bestrafte Brudermord. Shakespeares "Hamlet" auf der Wanderbühne des 17. Jhd.* (Britannica et Americana, Bd. 3). Hamburg. Pp. 130.
433. Fricker, Robert. "Das szenische Bild bei Shakespeare", *Annales Universitatis Saraviensis*, Saarbrücken, Phil. T. 5, 1956, nos. 3-4, pp. 227-240.
434. Friebert, Stuart A. "A Note on Lessing's Early Attitude toward Shakespeare", *German Quarterly*, XXXI, 178-182.
Absence of written references from 1751 to 1756 does not preclude interest in *Shak.* on Lessing's part. Although he made no systematic attempt to praise *Shak.* in his early years, his attitude changed vastly after 1756, when he was exposed to Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poesie*.
435. Friedman, Arthur. "John Gielgud, Shakespearean Actor", *SNL*, VIII, 26.
A survey of his roles, and a brief appraisal.
436. Friedman, William F. and Elizebeth S. *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1957.
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- 188; briefly by R. A. Foakes in *English*, XII, 21; by Erik Frykman in *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm), Feb. 3; by Yves Gyldén in *Svenska Dagbladet* (Stockholm), Feb. 5; by Burton A. Milligan in *JEGP*, LVII, 805-806; by Gilbert Roe in *Queen's Quarterly* (Canada), LXV, 348-351; in *VQR*, XXXIV, no. 2, lxix; in *The Month*, XIX, 292.
437. Frost, William. "Shakespeare's Rituals and the Opening of *King Lear*", *Hudson Review*, X, 577-585.
The first scene is a masterful employment of ritual, harmonizing with the mythic aspects of the plot, providing effective contrasts with later scenes, and making more meaningful the conclusion of the tragedy.
438. Frye, Northrop (ed.). *Sound and Poetry: English Institute Essays 1956*, ed., with an introduction, by Northrop Frye. Columbia Univ. Press, 1956.
Rev. in *Music and Letters*, XXXIX, 282-283.
439. Gallegly, J. S. "Edwin Booth in Galveston and Houston", *The Rice Institute Pamphlet*, XLIV, 52-64.
On some performances in the 1880's of several *Shak.* plays, mainly tragedies.
440. Galloway, David. "I am Dying, Egypt, Dying": Folio Repetitions and the Editors", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 330-335.
Presentation of the textual problems of *Antony*, IV. xv. Favors Folio repetitions.
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Falstaff seen as a hypomaniac. His stoutness represents an idealized mother-imago which covers and protects him, but also keeps him submissive.
442. Gardner, Helen. *The Limits of Literary Criticism*. Oxford Univ. Press, for the Univ. of Durham, 1956.
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443. Gardner, Helen. *The Noble Moor*. London, 1956.
Rev. by M. R. Ridley in *RES*, n.s., IX, 344.
444. Garner, Hugh. "What Shakespeare Did to Stratford", *Saturday Night*, Aug. 16, pp. 12-13, 42-43.
Economic view of the Stratford, Ontario, *Shak.* Festival. The festival has in its short history assumed the proportions of big business.
445. Gassner, John. "Broadway in Review", *Educational Theatre Journal*, X, 240-249.
Reviews productions of the American Theatre Festival, including three plays by *Shak.*
446. Gérard, Albert. "Alack, Poor Iago! Intellect and Action in *Othello*", *SI*, XCIV, 218-232.
"In *Othello* and *Iago*, *Shak.* delineates two basically opposed views of life (idealism on the one hand, rationalistic materialism on the other), embodied in two radically divergent characters (the one deficient in intellect, the other gifted with the power of abstract thought and psychological insight). Yet both end in the same ignominious failure." This "structural principle" for *Oth.* reflects the "pessimism" pervading *Shak.*'s major tragedies, the discovery "that the most important issues of moral life cannot be successfully dealt with either by reason or by instinct".
447. Gerevini, Silvano. *Il testo del "Riccardo III" di Shakespeare*. Saggio critico. Pavia: E. Cortina, 1957. Pp. 102.
448. Gerritsen, Johan. "More Paired Words in *Othello*", *ES*, XXXIX, 212-214.
Comment on Walter Nash's "Paired Words in *Othello*" (no. 672). *Shak.* did not intend the device of paired words to be characteristic of *Oth.* alone. This is, rather, a general stylistic trait. (Reply by Nash, no. 673.)
449. Gerstner-Hirzel, Arthur. *The Economy of Action and Word in Shakespeare's Plays* (The Coopers Monographs on English and American Language and Literature, 2). Bern, 1957.
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- MLR, LIII, 300-301; by Michel Poirier in *Etudes Anglaises*, XI, 248-249.
450. Giannini, V. "Shakespeare's Musical Training", *Music Journal*, XVI, 8 ff.
451. Gibian, George. *Tolstoi and Shakespeare*. The Hague, 1957.
Rev. by Earl H. Rovit in *Books Abroad*, XXXII, 188.
452. Gilbert, Allan H. (ed.). *Renaissance Papers, 1955*. Charleston, [1956].
Rev. (of 2 *Shak.* essays) by Glenn H. Blayney in *SQ*, IX, 76-77.
453. Gittings, Robert. "Falstaff and Sir Richard Grenville", *TLS*, May 9, p. 255.
Further support for Leslie Hotson's plea (1956 Bibl., no. 406) for an unemended "a Table of greene fields", meaning a picture of Sir Richard Grenville. Cites verbal parallels between the Hostess' account of Falstaff's death and Sir Gervase Markham's description of Grenville's death in *The Most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinvile, Knight*. Markham, like *Shak.*, was also connected with the Essex faction.
Reply by Leslie Hotson (congratulating Gittings and adding new evidence), by E. M. W. Tillyard (preferring a Biblical source), and by J. C. Maxwell (defending emendations), May 16, p. 269.
Further comment by N. Young (questioning Hotson's use of *table*), May 23, p. 283, and by Roy Walker (concerning "Arthur's bosom" and suggesting Theobald's accuracy), May 23, p. 283. Reply to Young by Hotson, May 30, p. 297; and a physician's commentary by Chalmers H. Davidson, May 30, p. 297.
Added arguments by Gittings, by A. L. Rowse (objecting to certainty about pronunciation of "Grenville"), and by Hugh Ross Williamson (protesting the anachronism involved in the Grenville identification), Jun. 6, p. 313.
Reply to Gittings by J. C. Maxwell, Jun. 13, p. 329. Defense of anachronism by E. G. Coulson, Jun. 20, p. 345; reply by Williamson, Jun. 27, p. 361.
454. Goldsmith, Robert Hillis. "Did Shakespeare Use the Old Timon Comedy?", *SQ*, IX, 31-38.
- No single borrowing, but a network of approximate resemblances, suggests that *Shak.* used the MS *Timon* not only for *Tim.* but also for *Lear*.
455. Goldsmith, Robert Hillis. "Plain, Blunt Englishman", *Renaissance Papers*, 1957, pp. 94-99.
On Kent in *Lear*: his dramatic antecedents and the function of his bluntness in the play.
456. Goldsmith, Robert Hillis. "The Wild Man on the English Stage", *MLR*, LIII, 481-491.
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457. Goldsmith, Robert Hillis. *Wise Fools in Shakespeare*. Michigan State Univ. Press, 1956.
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459. Granville-Barker, Frank. "*Julius Caesar*", *Plays and Players*, Jul., p. 11.
Stratford-on-Avon production.
460. Granville-Barker, Frank. "Redgrave Reflects", *Plays and Players*, Jul., p. 5.
A brief appreciation and appraisal of Redgrave's contribution to the acting of *Shak.*
461. Granville-Barker, Harley. *Preface to Othello*. Princeton Univ. Press. Pp. 149. Paperback.
462. Granville-Barker, Harley. *Prefaces to Shakespeare*. Re-issue in 2 vols. London: Batsford.
463. Greany, Helen J. "Some Interesting Parallels", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 252-253.
One such parallel is that between Churchill's *The Prophecy of Famine* (1763), 93-108, and *Lear* I.ii.1-22.
464. Greg, W. W. *The Shakespeare First Folio*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1955.
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465. Greg, W. W. *Some Aspects and Prob-*

- lems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. viii + 131.
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466. Griffin, Alice. "The Shakespeare Season in New York", *SQ*, IX, 531-534.
There were only 6 productions during the 1957-1958 season, 4 of which were part of the New York Shakespeare Festival.
467. Griffin, Alice. "Theatre, U.S.A.: Shakespeare, U.S.A.", *Theatre Arts*, Ap., pp. 60-63.
Ashland, San Diego, Antioch, and Stratford, Ontario *Shak.* festivals.
468. Griffin, Alice. "Theatre, U.S.A.", *Theatre Arts*, Jul., pp. 52-55.
Listings of coming performances, productions, and festivals.
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471. Guicharnaud, Jacques. "Voltaire and Shakespeare", *American Society Legion of Honor Magazine*, XXVII (1956), 159-169.
472. Guidi, Augusto. "In Margine a uno Studio dei Drammi Romaneschi di Shakespeare", *Letteratura*, IV. xxiv (1956), 3-10.
473. Guidi, Augusto. "Una traduzione italiana dei sonetti di Shakespeare", *Lettere Italiane*, X, no. 3 (Jul-Sep.).
On a translation of *Sonn.* into Italian by Luigi De Marchi.
474. Guidi, Augusto. *L'ultimo Shakespeare*. Padova: Liviana editrice. Pp. 129.
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476. Hainfeld, H. "Studying Shakespeare from Television", *School Activities*, Nov., pp. 86-87.
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480. Halliday, Frank E. *Shakespeare in his Age*. London, 1956.
Rev. by Anna Maria Crinò in *SQ*, IX, 569-572.
481. Hammelmann, H. A. "Shakespeare Illustration: The Earliest Known Originals Designed and Drawn by Gravelot", *Connoisseur*, CXXI, 144-149.
Reproductions and text on Gravelot's illustrations.
482. Hankiss, Elemer. "Neue Wege der Hamlet-Kritik", *SJ*, XCIV, 203-217.
483. Hardy, Barbara. "I Have a Smack of Hamlet": Coleridge and Shakespeare's Characters", *EC*, VIII, 238-255.
Concludes that "Coleridge's brevity and fragmentariness often obscure a sensibility and an analytical method which would not have much to learn from later criticism".
484. Harris, Bernard. "A Portrait of a Moor", *SS* 11, pp. 89-97.
Moorish ambassador to Elizabeth in 1600 emphasized, in addition to difficult dealings with the Moors, the deep difference Elizabethans sensed between themselves and the "erring Barbarian". Portrait of the ambassador is reproduced.
485. Harrison, G. B. *Shakespeare at Work: 1592-1603* (Ann Arbor Paperbacks). Univ. of Michigan Press. Pp. 325.
Rev. briefly in *SNL*, VIII, 12.
486. Harrison, Thomas P. "Shakespeare's Birds", *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, III, 53-62.
Although *Shak.* was acquainted

- through close observation with a few common birds, he was typical of the poets of his time in his frequent inaccuracies in describing lesser-known birds. He depended to a great extent on popular and literary traditions for such descriptions.
487. Hart, Jeffrey P. "Prospero and Faustus", *Boston University Studies in English*, II (1956), 197-206.
488. Hart, John A. "The Tempest", in Carnegie Institute of Technology, Department of English, *Shakespeare: Lectures on Five Plays*, pp. 71-83.
489. Hartnoll, Phyllis. *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*. Second ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 1957.
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490. Hastings, William T. "Basic Shakespeare Too?", *Books at Brown*, XVIII (1957), 35-59.
491. Hawkes, Terry. "Ficino and Shakespeare", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 185-186.
Items from the Neo-Platonic Marsilio Ficino's *Epistoli* are contained in translation in William Fulwood's *The Enemy of Idleness: Teaching the manner and stile how to endite, compose all sorts Epistles and Letters*, the publishing history of which spanned *Shak.*'s lifetime. There is possibly an influence of this book on letter-writing in *Shak.*
492. Hawkes, Terry. "The Old and the New 'Much Ado About Nothing'", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 524-525.
The difference in tone in the two love affairs represents a difference in social order. Hero and Claudio belong to the traditional order, while Beatrice and Benedick represent the freedom and enlightenment of the Renaissance.
493. Hayes, R. "Report from Stratford", *Commonweal*, Sep. 19, pp. 617-619.
Stratford, Ontario, *Shak.* Festival.
494. Hazard, Patrick D. (ed.). "The Public Arts", *English Journal*, XLVII, 41-43.
Survey of recent drama recordings, television productions and films. Includes discussion of the RCA Victor recording of *Romeo*, and the Hallmark Theatre television productions of *Macb.* and *R. II.*
495. Heer, Friedrich. "Shakespeare Uraufführung in Wien 'Titus Andronicus'", *Die Furche, Freie kulturpolitische Wochenschrift* (Wien), 13 J. 1957, no. 25, pp. 14-15.
496. Heidicke, Manfred. "Shakespeare aus Distanz. König Lear am Deutschen Theater Berlin", *Theater d. Zeit*, XII. vii (1957), 47-48.
497. Heilman, Robert B. *Magic in the Web: Action and Language in Othello*. Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1956.
Rev. by G. K. Hunter in *EC*, VIII, 106-110; briefly in *SNL*, VIII, 12; briefly by Charles Norton Coe in *CE*, XX, 99.
498. Heine, Heinrich. "Im Zaubergarten der Shakespeareschen Komödie", *Das neue Forum* (Darmstadt), V (1955/56), 244-247.
499. Heninger, S. K., Jr. "Chapman's 'Hymnus In Noctem', 376-377, and Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 346-347", *Explicator*, XVI, no. 49.
"The leading idea of *L.L.L.* . . . is not that love is incompatible with learning, but rather that both are dependent upon melancholy, and that either to the exclusion of the other is inadequate to satisfy the complexity of human desire".
500. "Henry VIII at the Old Vic", *Tablet*, May 24, p. 487.
501. Herbert, Carolyn. "Comic Elements in *Othello*", *Renaissance Papers*, 1957, pp. 32-38.
Shak. enriched Cinthio's story by puns, bawdry, and comic character types. Even *Othello*, foolishly jealous, has aspects of a type ridiculed in the Renaissance.
502. Herbert, T. Walter. "Diversive Estimates of Polonius' Character: An Example of a Dramatic Technique", *Renaissance Papers*, 1957, pp. 82-86.
It is a tribute to *Shak.*'s artistry that radically different opinions about Polonius can be held by people in the play, as well as by critics.
503. Herbert, T. Walter. "Sound and Sense

- in Two Shakespeare Sonnets", *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, III, 43-52.
- Examines *Sonn.* XII and XXX in terms of phonetic repetition. The conjunction of two words which sound alike "may produce a sense of rightness in poetry".
504. Heun, Hans Georg. *Shakespeare in Deutschen Übersetzungen*. Berlin, 1957.
- Rev. briefly by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIV, 299.
505. Heuser, Georg. *Die aktlose Dramaturgie W. Sh.'s. Eine Untersuchung über das Problem der Akteinteilung und angeblichen Aktstruktur der Sh-schen Dramen*. Marburg, Phil. Diss., 1956.
506. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: Bringing up Fathers", *Saturday Review*, Aug. 16, p. 26.
- W. T. at Stratford, Connecticut, and at Stratford, Ontario.
507. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: Directors at Work", *Saturday Review*, Sep. 20, p. 31.
- Tony Richardson's direction of *Per.* and Glen Byam Shaw's direction of *Ham.* at Stratford-on-Avon. Review includes suggestions for getting tickets to Stratford productions.
508. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: The Great Gielgud", *Saturday Review*, Dec. 27, p. 20.
- On his performances of "Shakespeare's Ages of Man".
509. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: Plummer's Summer", *Saturday Review*, Jul. 12, pp. 28-29.
- H. IV* and *Much* at Stratford, Ontario, with Christopher Plummer as Bardolph and Benedick.
510. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: Reform It Altogether", *Saturday Review*, Jul. 5, p. 22.
- John Houseman's *Ham.*, starring Fritz Weaver, at Stratford, Conn.
511. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: Will O' the West", *Saturday Review*, Aug. 23, p. 28.
- The two West Coast festivals: Ashland and San Diego.
512. Highfill, Philip, Jr. "Biography in Brief: Frances Anne Kemble", *SNL*, VIII, 34.
- Shak.* career and dramatic convictions of the famous actress (1809-1893).
513. Highfill, Philip, Jr. "Sir Israel Gollancz", *SNL*, VIII, 11.
- Brief biography of the *Shak.* scholar.
514. Hill, R. F. "Shakespeare's Early Tragic Mode", *SQ*, IX, 455-469.
- The ornate and clever expression of passion found in the early tragedies had a Senecan inspiration but was both enriched and troubled by native elements. It should generally be appreciated as a rhetorical mode and not subjected to naturalistic criteria.
515. Hindenberg, Gisela. *Der Traum im Drama Shakespeares*. Göttingen, Phil. Diss., 1956.
516. Hodek, Břetislav. "Einige Theoretische Betrachtungen über Shakespeare-Regie", *SJ*, XCIV, 42-50.
- Considers fundamental problems of text, delivery, and staging which must be faced by any modern producer.
517. Hoepfner, Theodore C. "M.O.A.I.—'Twelfth Night'", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 193.
- Proposes that the initials in *Twel.* II. v. 118-151 are part of a Latin play on words, standing for "Malevolus omnino amore sui infelix facitur"—"Malvolio all through self-love is made ill-fated", and that despite opinion to the contrary, *Shak.*'s audience was language-conscious enough to understand this.
518. Hoffman, Mary. "Shakespeare Knew His Music", *Music Journal*, Sep., pp. 90-92.
- Although *Shak.* was not an instrumentalist, he demonstrated an instrumentalist's knowledge of music, as evidenced from cited passages in fourteen plays.
519. Hoffmann, Friedrich. "Die Typischen Situationen im Elisabethanischen Drama und ihr Pattern", *SJ*, XCIV, 107-120.
520. Hoffing, Charles K. "An Interpretation of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*", *American Imago*, XIV (1957), 407-435.

521. Hogan, Charles Beecher. *Shakespeare in the Theatre*, Vols. I and II. Oxford Univ. Press, 1956.
Rev. briefly in *Players Magazine*, XXXIV, 125-126; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIV, 296-297.
522. Holland, Norman N. "The Dumb-Show Revisited", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 191.
Presents the problem of why Claudius is overcome by the "mousetrap" play but not by the dumb-show in light of *Shak.*'s careful distinction between action and words. The dumb-show "serves, not just to give Hamlet an extra shot at his victim, but to show that the revenger has made this punishment fit the crime; he has poured poison into Claudius' ears".
523. Hollander, John. "Musica Mundana and Twelfth Night", *Sound and Poetry* (English Institute Essays 1956: Columbia Univ. Press), pp. 55-82.
524. Honda, Akira. "Antonius to Antony" ("Antonius and Anthony"), *Hōsei Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō* (Hosei Univ. Studies in English and American Literature), no. 3, pp. 1-15.
Shak.'s use of Plutarch's account.
525. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Theatre", *Time and Tide*, Mar. 1, pp. 258-259.
Douglas Seale's Old Vic production of *Lear*.
526. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Theatre: *Julius Caesar*". *Time and Tide*, Oct. 18, p. 1248.
Douglas Seale's Old Vic production.
527. No entry
528. Hoskins, Frank L. "Shakespeare and the Prodigious Page Tradition", *Renaissance Papers*, 1957, pp. 106-110.
There is indebtedness to Latin comedy, Richard Edwards, and John Lyly for the diminutive, witty page; but *Shak.*'s pages are usually individuals.
529. Hosley, Richard. "An Elizabethan Tiring-House Façade", *SQ*, IX, 588 (plus full-page photograph).
Comments briefly on the tiring-house façade designed by Richard Southern for the Bankside Players, London.
530. Howarth, R. G. *Shakespeare by Air*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1957. Pp. 64.
Rev. briefly by A. L. McLeod in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIV, 204.
531. Hubler, Edward. "The Damnation of Othello: Some Limitations on the Christian View of the Play", *SQ*, IX, 295-300.
The limitations include individual variations in orthodox creed, the difference between fictional characters and actual men, the nature of drama, and *Shak.*'s ability to display nature in all its unsystematized complexity.
532. Hubner, Hans. *Sonette in Deutscher Sprache und Italienischer Versform*. Rostock: C. Hinsteroff, 1956. Pp. 196.
533. Hulme, Hilda M. "The English Language as a Medium of Literary Expression", *EC*, VIII, 68-76.
Expresses "the predilections of a Shakespearean linguist" in the field of language-literature relationship.
Comment by F. W. Bateson, pp. 76-78.
534. Hulme, Hilda M. "On the Interpretation of Shakespeare's Text", *ES*, XXXVIII (1957), 193-200.
On the significance of linguistic evidence.
535. Hulme, Hilda M. "On the Meaning of *Copy* (*Comedy of Errors*, V.i.62)", *Neophilologus*, Jan., pp. 73-74.
"Copy" is used in swift rejoinder to "not enough" in the Latin sense of plenty.
536. Hulme, Hilda M. "Shakespeare's Text: Some Notes on Linguistic Procedure and its relevance to Textual Criticism", *ES*, XXXIX, 49-56.
Further examples of Miss Hulme's thesis that a fuller knowledge and acceptance of colloquial Elizabethan English would deter editors from many emendations.
537. Hulme, Hilda M. "The Spoken Language and the Dramatic Text: Some Notes on the Interpretation of Shakespeare's Language", *SQ*, IX, 379-386.
An attempt, applied to several cruxes, to make sense of passages which may have had, as speech, a meaning now obscured in the written word.

538. Hulme, Hilda M. "Three Notes on the Interpretation of Shakespeare's Text", *Neophilologus*, Jul., pp. 212-215.
 "Soud" (*Shrew*, V. i. 145) is probably a compositor error for "sond". Petruchio uses it in its Old English meaning of "victuals". "Kid" (*Much*, II. iii. 45; "kid-foxe") is used in the sense of "known", and derives from the Old English *cýðan*. "Retyres" (*Troi*. I. iii. 54) means "rants" or "tears".
539. Hulme Hilda M. "Three Notes: *Troilus and Cressida*, V. vii. 11; *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 54; *Measure for Measure*, II. i. 39", *JEGP*, LVII, 721-725.
 (1) Prefers the Folio's "double hen'd sparrow", as applying to lustful Paris with his Oenone and Helen; (2) "tailour", by association with "yard", came by itself to suggest "penis" or "vagina" and bears obvious implications in Puck's line; (3) "brakes" contrasts with "a fault" not only as a greater crack in the ice but as sexual promiscuity versus a single sexual offense.
- 539a. Hyman, Harold M. "Hamlet's Soliloquy and American Loyalty", *AAUP Bulletin*, XLIV, 736-739.
 Parodies of "To be", past and present, attack loyalty oaths.
540. Illesley, W. A. *A Shakespeare Manual for Schools*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1957.
 Rev. briefly in *SNL*, VIII, 12; by Jacques Valette in *Langues Modernes*, LII, 198-199; by Hudson Rogers in *English Journal*, XLVII, 308.
541. Isaac, C. G. "William Bulmer, 1757-1830: An Introductory Essay", *The Library*, XIII, 37-50.
 Includes a brief description of the typography of the Shakespeare Press and the type faces of William Martin.
542. Isaacs, J. (ed.). *William Poel's Prompt-Book of Fratricide Punished*. London, 1956.
 Rev. by Hubert C. Heffner in *SQ*, IX, 63-66.
543. Itschert, Hans. "Bochumer Shakespeare-Tage", *Die Neueren Sprachen*, n.f., VI (1957), 363-365.
544. Ivy, Geoffrey S. "Othello and the Rose-Lip'd Cherubin: An Old Reading Restored", *SQ*, IX, 208-212.
 Defends F or, preferably, Q reading of *Oth*. IV. ii. 63-65 by taking *turne* as conditional and by emphasizing the passage as the culmination of Othello's struggle to reconcile incompatibles.
- 544a. Jackson, Peter. "Shakespeare: Stage v. Screen", *Plays and Players*, Dec., pp. 8-9.
 Surveys *Shak.* on the screen in recent years. "Shakespeare is always good cinema, but only occasionally is cinema good Shakespeare".
545. Jackson, William A. *The Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602 to 1640*. London, 1957.
 Rev. by James G. McManaway in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, LII, 65-67.
546. Jacquot, Jean (ed.). *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*. Etudes réunies et présentées par Jean Jacquot. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche, Scientifique, 1956. Pp. 492.
 Includes essay by F. W. Sternfeld on the musical symbolism in some of *Shak.*'s plays as presented at court. See no. 848.
 Rev. by Allardyce Nicoll in *SQ*, IX, 399-400.
547. Jacquot, Jean. "*Jules César* au Palais de Chaillot", *Etudes Anglaises*, X (1957), 90-91.
548. Jacquot, Jean. "Le Théâtre du Monde de Shakespeare à Calderón", *Revue de Littérature comparée*, XXXI (1957), 341-372.
549. Jayne, Sears and Francis R. Johnson. *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609*. London, 1956.
 Rev. by Leicester Bradner in *MLN*, LXXII, 58-60.
550. Jeffreys, M. D. W. "The Weird Sisters in *Macbeth*", *English Studies in Africa* (Johannesburg), I, 43-54.
 Though *Shak.* later debases these figures with qualities of mundane witchcraft, they are related to Hecate and the Erinyes, and their formidable character "strikes the grand note in the opening scene, elemental forces and a man at the crossways".

551. Jekels, Ludwig. "On the Psychology of Comedy", *The Tulane Drama Review*, II, 55-61.
A psychoanalytic view of comedy, stressing the role of the trouble-causing father, is supported in part by references to *Shak*.
552. Jeřábek, Dušan. "Hálek a Shakespeare", in *F. Wollmanovi k sedmdesátinám* (Collection of articles in tribute to Professor Wollman's 70th birthday). Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, pp. 603-616.
In connection with the influence of *Shak*. on the Czech romantic poet Vítězslav Hálek (1835-1874), the author stresses the significance of *Shak*. not only for Hálek's dramatic work but also for his development as a leading dramatic critic.
553. Johnson, Gloria E. "Shakespeare at Ashland, Oregon—1958", *SQ*, IX, 543-547.
554. Johnson, Samuel. *Johnson's Notes to Shakespeare*, ed., with an Introduction, by Arthur Sherbo (Augustan Reprint Society, nos. 71-73). Vol. III, Tragedies. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Univ. of California. Pp. 202.
555. Jorgensen, Paul A. *Shakespeare's Military World*. Univ. of California Press, 1956.
Rev. by T. R. Henn in *MLR*, LIII, 104-105; by Allan Gilbert in *MLN*, LXXIII, 613-614.
556. Josten, Walter. "Schwierigkeiten der Shakespeare-Übersetzung", *Shakespeare-Tage 1957* (Bochum), pp. 3-8.
557. Jurgensen, Kai. "Producing on a Shoe-string", *Players Magazine*, XXXIV, 76-77.
Suggestions for school, amateur, and other low-budget groups in producing such plays as *Macb.*, *Pierre Pathelin*, and *Hedda Gabler*.
558. Juzovskij, Ju. "Gamlet i drugie", *Teatr* (Moscow), XVII. ii. (1956), 140-157.
559. Kaindl, Elisabeth Maria. *Shakespeares Methoden, Regiebemerkungen in den Text zu verarbeiten*. Wien, Phil. Diss. 1956.
- 559a. Kaiser, Henry. "Noget Om Shakespeare", *speares By Og Lidt Om Hans Hoved*", *Vendyssel Tidende* (Hjørring), June 15.
Chats on *Shak*'s birthplace and bust.
560. Kaiser, Joachim. "Das Dilemma mit Shylock", *Hessische Hefte* (Kassel), VI (1956), 434.
561. Keen, Frances. "The First Night of Twelfth Night", *TLS*, Dec. 19, p. 737.
Makes "a decisive point" on the dating of the Northumberland Manuscript on which Leslie Hotson based his claim. Because John Salusbury is mentioned in it as "Sir" and because Salusbury was not knighted until June, 1601, Hotson's conjectured date of 1600 is too early.
562. Kendall, Paul Murray. *Warwick the Kingmaker*. London: Allen and Unwin. Pp. 365.
Rev. in *TLS*, Ap. 18, p. 206; by A. R. Myers in *History Today*, VIII, 64; in *VQR*, XXXIV, no. 2, lx; by Gerald Hamilton in *Spectator*, Jan. 10, p. 52.
563. Kennedy, A. L. "The Two Greatest Englishmen: Shakespeare and Churchill?", *Quarterly Review*, Ap. pp. 123-137.
Shows parallels between the contributions of *Shak*. and Churchill in language, wit, insight into human nature.
- 563a. Kenyon, John S. "Shakespeare's Pronunciation of Stephano: *The Merchant of Venice* V.i.28, 51", *PQ*, XXXVII, 504-506.
Shak. probably intended "Stephano" to be correctly accented on the first syllable.
564. Kerman, Joseph. *Opera as Drama*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. Pp. iv + 269.
Includes a discussion of Verdi's *Otello*.
Rev. by Nan Cooke Carpenter in *Comparative Literature*, X, 90-91; by Janet Leeper in *Drama*, Autumn, p. 41; in *Music and Letters*, XXXIX, 289-291; by Mosco Gardner in *Time and Tide*, Aug. 16, p. 1000.
565. Keys, A. C. "Shakespeare in France: La Mégère apprivoisée en 1767",

- Revue de Littérature Comparée*, XXXI (1957), 426-428.
566. Kindermann, Heinz. "Shakespeares Komödien", *Prisma* (Bochum) 1956/57, no. 7, pp. 75-78.
567. Kitto, H. D. F. *Form and Meaning in Drama: A Study of Six Greek Plays and of Hamlet*. London, 1956.
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568. Knight, G. Wilson. *The Sovereign Flower: On Shakespeare as the Poet of Royalism together with Related Essays and Indexes* [by Patricia M. Ball] to Earlier Volumes. London: Methuen. Pp. 324.
The main essay is extended from earlier work, but revised for the occasion. Other sections include a detailed analysis of *All's W.* and an examination of *Shak.*'s use of proper names.
Rev. in *TLS*, Oct. 17, p. 596.
569. Knights, L. C. *Shakespeare's Politics: With Some Reflections on the Nature of Tradition* (Proceedings of the British Academy, 1957, XLIII, 115-132). Oxford Univ. Press. Pamphlet.
Prefers "living tradition" to "background of literature". *Shak.*'s comments on politics "spring from an insight that is spiritual, moral, and psychological rather than political in any narrow sense".
Rev. in *TLS*, Jul. 25, p. 423.
570. Kökeritz, Helge. "This Sullied Solid Flesh", *Studia Neophilologica*, XXX, 3-10.
A defense of emendation, and a reply to Fredson Bowers' "Hamlet's 'Sullied' or 'Solid' Flesh: A Bibliographical Case-History", *SS* 9, pp. 44-48 (see 1956 Bibl. no. 189).
571. Kolmer, Herbert. *Die Entwicklung des sozialen Bewusstseins W. Sh.'s. Aus einer Analyse seiner Werke*. Wien, Phil. Diss., 1956.
572. Kostetzky, Eaghor G. "Gründungsbericht", *SJ*, XCIV, 315.
573. Koziol, Herbert. "Shakespeares Komposita in deutschen Übersetzungen", *Die neueren Sprachen* (1957), pp. 457-463.
574. Kraft, Werner. "Das Opfer: Gedanken über Shakespeare", *Echart*, XXVI (1957), 295-303.
575. Kramp, Karen. *Shakespeares "Troilus und Cressida". Eine sprachlichstilistische Untersuchung*. Mss. diss., Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1957. Pp. 217.
576. Kramskoi, Miguel. *Shakespeare*. Barcelona: G. P., 1957. Pp. 96. (*Enciclopedia Pulga*.)
577. Krehm, W. "Stratford Gleanings", *Canadian Music Journal*, Autumn (1957), pp. 37-39.
578. Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *The Classic and Renaissance Thought*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1955.
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579. Kummer, Manfred. *Studien zum wissenschaftlichen Denken im Drama der Shakespeare-Zeit*. Hamburg, Phil. Diss., 1955.
580. Kunstler, Ernst. "TV Shakespeare in West Germany", *SNL*, VIII, 27.
581. LaMar, Virginia A. *English Dress in the Age of Shakespeare* (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization). Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library. Pp. 42.
582. Lambin, G. "L'Île de Prospero ou les Faux Prodiges", *Les Langues Modernes*, LII, 37-44.
Argues that the scene of *Temp.* may be precisely identified with one of the Lipari Islands (the Aeolian Islands of Greek myth). Discusses the magic in *Temp.* to demonstrate that *Shak.* did not himself believe in sorcery.
- 582a. Langbaum, Robert. "Character versus Action in Shakespeare", in *The Poetry of Experience: The Dramatic Monologue in Modern Literary Tradition*. New York: Random House, 1957, pp. 160-181.
- 582b. Lane, Ralph H. "Shakespearean Spell-ing", *SNL*, VIII, 28.
583. Langenfelt, Gösta. "När Shakespeare var 'ociviliserad'" (When *Shak.* was "uncivilized"), *Sundsvalls tidning* (Sundsvall), Jul. 3.
584. Laqueur, Richard. *Shakespeares Dramatische Konzeption*. Tübingen, 1955.
Rev. by A. Schlösser in *Deutsche*

- Literaturzeitung*, LXXVIII (1957), 897-899.
- 584a. Law, Robert Adger. "King Leir and King Lear: An examination of the two plays", in *Studies in Honor of T. W. Baldwin*, ed. by Don Cameron Allen, Univ. of Illinois Press, pp. 112-124.
Shak. owes more than usually thought to the early play, but "nowhere did he exhibit greater artistic power than in turning this crude romantic comedy into heartrending tragedy."
585. Lawrence, William W. "Measure for Measure and Lucio", *SQ*, IX, 443-453.
Shak.'s "sacrifice" of Lucio—who had begun the play as an admirable character—to punishment and humiliation parallels other aspects of a play in which character is subordinated to plot.
586. Leech, Clifford. *John Ford and the Drama of His Time*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1957. Pp. 144.
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- 586a. Leech, Clifford. "Shakespeare's Prologues and Epilogues", in *Studies in Honor of T. W. Baldwin*, ed. by Don Cameron Allen, Univ. of Illinois Press, pp. 150-164.
587. Leech, Clifford. "The Structure of the Last Plays", *SS* 11, pp. 19-30.
 Mainly on the dramatist's progressive attempt to fuse cycle and crisis and to achieve at play's end a finality, "something more decisive than a mere tale's ending".
588. Leech, Clifford. "The Two-Part Play: Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare", *SJ*, XCIV, 90-106.
 Examines the fashion of two- and three-part plays in the 1590's, with special attention to 1, 2, 3 *H. VI*.
589. Lees, F. N. "'Shakespeare's Love's Labor's Won'", *TLS*, Mar. 28, p. 169.
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590. Lenotti, Tullio. *Romeo and Juliet*. [*Giulietta e Romeo nella storia, nella leggenda e nell'arte*], tr. by Silvana Redomi. Illustrated by Ameglio Trivella. Verona: Ed. di Vita veronese, 1957. Pp. 83.
591. Leventhal, A. J. "Dramatic Commentary", *Dublin Magazine*, Jan-Mar., pp. 32-34.
 Cyril Cusack's production of *Ham.* at Dublin's Gaiety Theatre.
592. Lever, J. W. "Chapman and Shakespeare", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 99-100.
Sonn. LV was a direct influence on the prefatory verses addressed to "the High Borne Prince of Men" (Prince Henry), in Chapman's *Homer*. Both *Shak.* and Chapman drew heavily on Horace, *Odes*, III. xxx, and Ovid, *Metam.*, XV, 871 ff.
593. Levin, Harry. "The Antic Disposition", *SJ*, XCIV, 175-190.
 Drawn from a world whose prevailing unreason was literature's theme, Hamlet exhibits the Erasmian sanity, the sane maladjustment, of a "witty fool".
594. Levý, Jiří. "Divadelní prostor a čas v dramatech Williama Shakespeara a Bena Jonsona" (Dramatic space and time in the plays of *Shak.* and Jonson), in *F. Wollmanovi k sedmdesátinám* (Collection of articles in tribute to Professor Wollman's 70th birthday). Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, pp. 648-656.
 Characteristic of *Shak.* is a subjective selection of space and a discontinuity of action; Jonson, as a forerunner of classicism, strives for a more objective and continuous presentation of dramatic time and action.
595. Lewes, George Henry. *On Actors and the Art of Acting*. New York, 1957.
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596. "Listeners' Shakespeare", *TLS*, Ap. 11, p. 195.
 LP recordings of *Oth.*, *A.Y.L.*, and *Troi.* by the Marlowe Society of Cambridge Univ. (issued by the Argo Record Co.).
597. Littlefield, Joan. "Old Vic Holds Appeal for Shakespeare Troopers", *El Universal* (Mexico City), May 2, English Section, p. 18.
 Account of the best actors and ac-

- tresses who have appeared at the Old Vic; also a brief history of the theatre.
598. Lombard, Charles M. "Ducis' 'Hamlet' and Musset's 'Lorenzaccio'", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 72-75.
We find in Musset, but not in Ducis, a Shakespearian quality of life.
599. Lombardo, Agostino. *Il dramma pre-shakespeariano*: studi sul teatro inglese dal medioevo al rinascimento ("Collana di varia critica", Vol. XIV, ed. by Neri Pozza). Venezia, 1957. Pp. viii + 224.
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600. Lombardo, Agostino. "De Sanctis e Shakespeare", *English Miscellany* (Rome), VII (1956), 91-146.
601. Long, John H. *Shakespeare's Use of Music*. Univ. of Florida Press, 1955.
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602. Long, J. H. "Sneak's Noyse Heard Again?", *Musical Quarterly*, XLIV, 76-81.
603. Lucas, F. L. *Literature and Psychology*. Univ. of Michigan Press. Pp. 340. Paperback reprint.
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604. Lufft, Peter. "Viel Lärm um nichts", *Prisma* (Bochum) 1956/57, no. 7, pp. 73-75. Also in *Shakespeare-Tage 1957*, pp. 8-10.
605. Lüthi, Max. "König Lear", *Sammlung*, XI (1956), 552-561.
606. Lüthi, Max. "Shakespeare und das Märchen", *Zeitschrift f. Volkskunde* (Stuttgart), 53 J. 1956/57, pp. 141-149.
607. Lüthi, Max. *Shakespeares Dramen*. Berlin, 1957.
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608. Lüthi, Max. "Zur Rolle des Volks bei Shakespeare", *Anglia*, LXXVI, 74-89.
609. Lüthi, Max. "Zwei Hamlet-Szenen als Spiegel des Shakespearen Dramas", *Schweizer Monatshefte*, XXXVI, (1956/57), 458-465.
610. Lyons, Clifford P. "It appears so by the story: Notes on Narrative-Thematic Emphasis in Shakespeare", *SQ*, IX, 287-294.
A caveat against indulging in too many interpretations of a play. Only by studying the story—with particular respect for repeated actions of one type—can we be sure that we are dealing with the theme.
611. Macintosh, Joan. *An Introduction to Shakespeare*. London: Macmillan, 1957. Pp. 144.
612. Mahood, M. M. *Shakespeare's Word-play*. London, 1957.
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613. Major, John M. "The 'Letters Seal'd' in Hamlet and the Character of Claudius", *JEGP*, LVII, 512-521.
Claudius does not seek Hamlet's death until compelled in self-defense to do so after the death of Polonius.
614. Major, John M. "Shakespeare's King Lear, IV, ii, 62", *Explicator*, XVII, no. 13.
Proposes "self-cover'd" as a bawdy pun with a secondary meaning of self-begotten or self-engendered, with a connotation of bestiality and monstrosity.
- 614a. Major, John M. "Eliot's 'Gerontion' and *As You Like It*", *MLN*, LXXIII, 28-31.
615. Mander, Raymond and Joe Mitchenson.

- "The China Statuettes of Quin as Falstaff", *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 54-58.
History of statuettes inspired by James Quin's portrayal of Falstaff.
616. Mander, Raymond and Joe Mitchenson. "Hamlet Costumes: A Correction", *SS* 11, pp. 123-124.
Detailed corrections of factual errors appearing in *SS* 9 article by D. A. Russell (see 1956 Bibl., no. 617).
617. Mander, Raymond and Joe Mitchenson. *A Picture History of the British Theatre*. London, 1957.
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- 617a. Marder, Louis. "Orthodoxies in Staging", *SNL*, VIII, 34.
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618. Mares, Francis Hugh. "The Origin of the Figure Called 'the Vice' in Tudor Drama", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXII, 11-29.
"The Vice" came from popular festivals, and he was already established as a stage clown before he appears in the moralities during their decline. His name originally bore no moral implications.
619. Mark, Thomas R. "The First Hungarian Translation of Shakespeare", *SQ*, IX, 471-478.
An account of the great national, linguistic, and theatrical significance of Francis Kazinczy's prose translation of *Ham.* (1790).
620. Markels, Julian. "The Public and Private Worlds of Shakespeare's Roman Plays", *DA*, XVIII, 221-222.
Beginning with the *H. IV* tetralogy, *Shak.* becomes increasingly aware of the themes of "public and private" and self-deception. Analyzes *Caesar*, *Antony*, and *Cor.* in terms of these themes.
621. Marowitz, Charles. "Stanislavsky and Shakespeare", *Encore*, IV. 4 (no. 13), 26-30.
622. Marshall, Herbert and Mildred Stock. *Ira Aldridge*. New York: Macmillan. 33 illustrations.
Biography of the American Negro tragedian who, a century ago, became the first Negro to play such roles as Macbeth, Shylock, and King Lear.
623. Mary Faith, Sister. "Scripture from the Billboards: Face of Falstaff", *America*, May 10, pp. 194-195.
624. Mason, Dorothy E. *Music in Elizabethan England* (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization). Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library. Pp. 38.
625. Matthews, Brander (ed.). *Papers on Acting* (Dramabook). New York: Hill and Wang. Pp. 356. Paperback.
Includes essays on the art and technique of acting by Kemble and Booth.
626. Matthews, Harold. "Much Ado About Apparel", *Theatre World*, Oct., pp. 27-30.
Much at Stratford-on-Avon.
627. Matthews, Harold. "Ninety-Ninth Season at Stratford-upon-Avon", *Theatre World*, Jul., pp. 16-19.
Reviews the season's productions.
628. Maurer, Wallace. "From Renaissance to Neo-Classical", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 287.
Compares *Shak.*'s and Dryden's versions of Ulysses' speech on degree (*Troi.* I. iii. 119-124). Finds in *Shak.* the "expanding infinitude of the Renaissance", and in Dryden the "incipient consolidation of Neo-classicism".
629. Maxwell, Baldwin. *Studies in the Shakespeare Apocrypha*. New York, 1956.
Rev. by J. M. Nosworthy in *RES*, n.s., IX, 434-436; briefly by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIV, 293-294.
630. Maxwell, J. C. "Blackstone on *Richard II*", *SQ*, IX, 595.
Identifies article discussing two of Sir William Blackstone's conjectures on the text of *R. II*.
631. McAvoy, William C. "Falstaff, Erasmus, and Ficino", *Carroll Quarterly*, XI (1957), 10-14.
632. McBean, Angus. Photographs of Pro-

- ductions of Shakespeare, *Plays and Players*:
Meas. at the Old Vic, Jan., p. 8;
Dream at the Old Vic, Feb., p. 10;
Lear at the Old Vic, Ap., p. 14; *Twel.*
 at the Old Vic, May, pp. 20-21; *Romeo*
 at Stratford-on-Avon, Jun., p. 6;
Twel. at Stratford-on-Avon, Jun., p. 6;
H. VIII at the Old Vic, Jul., p. 9;
Ham. at Stratford-on-Avon, Jul., pp. 20-21;
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Much at Stratford-on-Avon, Nov., pp. 18-19.
633. McBean, Angus. Photographs of Productions of Shakespeare, *Theatre World*:
Lear at the Old Vic, Ap., pp. 24-25;
Twel. at the Old Vic, May, pp. 36-37;
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634. McCollom, William G. *Tragedy*. New York: Macmillan, 1957. Pp. ix + 254.
 Rev. by Edward Partridge in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIV, 87-88; briefly by Richard B. Sewall in *CE*, XX, 57; by Herbert Blau in *Educational Theater Journal*, X, 86-87; by Lawrence Michel in *Thought*, XXXIII, 289-291.
- 634a. McDiarmid, M. P. "The Influence of Robert Garnier on Some Elizabethan Tragedies", *Etudes Anglaises*, XI, 289-302.
 Pp. 290, 302 allude to *Shak.*'s possible indebtedness to Garnier.
- 634b. McDonnell, Robert F. "The 'Aspiring Minds': A study of Shakespearean Characters who aspire to Political Sovereignty against the background of Literary and Dramatic Tradition", *DA*, XIX, 1365-1366.
635. McCelderry, B. R., Jr. "J. R. Lowell and 'Richard III'—A Bibliographical Error", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 179-180.
 Although *Richard the Third and the Primrose Criticism* is attributed to Lowell in two major bibliographical sources, it is really an anonymous reply to Lowell's views on *R. III*.
636. McFarland, T. "Antony and Octavius", *Yale Review*, XLVIII, 204-208.
637. McGlinchee, Claire. "Stratford, Connecticut, Shakespeare Festival, 1958", *SQ*, IX, 539-542.
638. McKenzie, D. F. "Men Made Free of the Stationers' Company, 1605-1640—Some Corrections to the List in Arber's 'Transcript'", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 429-430.
639. McManaway, James G. "Writing in Sand in *Titus Andronicus* IV.i", *RES*, n.s., IX, 172-173.
 This stage business, ludicrous to a modern audience, would have seemed natural, though pathetic, to Elizabethans, for writing in sand was apparently not infrequent in schools of the time.
640. McManaway, Mary R. "Poets in the Parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate", *SQ*, IX, 561-562.
 Evidence helping to give firmer identity to three poets—John Shaw, George Wilkins, and Richard Hathaway—is to be found in the unpublished Parish Registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.
641. McNamee, Lawrence Francis. "Translating Principles of Hans Rothe & *H. V*", *SNL*, VIII, 10.
 Preview of the popular German translator's version of *H. V*.
642. McNeal, Thomas H. "Margaret of Anjou: Romantic Princess and Troubled Queen", *SQ*, 1-10.
 Faced with the task of joining together Parts 1 and 2 of *H. VI*, *Shak.* fell back upon "the sighing-lover-denying-lady device". For this, and for other aspects of the Henry VI plays, he was indebted to the early play *The True Chronicle History of King Leir*.
643. McNeal, Thomas H. "Shakespeare's Cruel Queens", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXII, 41-50.
 All of *Shak.*'s cruel queens have at least one common denominator in that they derive in part from the Gonorill and Ragan in *The True Chronicle History of King Leir and his Three Daughters*. This work is reflected in as early a play as 2 *H. VI* in the character of Queen Margaret.
644. McNeir, Waldo F. "The Closing of the

- Capulet Tomb", *Studia Neophilologica*, XXVIII (1956), 3-8.
645. Melchinger, Siegfried. "Antigone und Hamlet bleiben. Der Formzerfall im modernen Drama", *Wort und Wahrheit*, XI (1956), 210-220.
646. Mendilow, A. A. "Falstaff's Death of a Sweat", *SQ*, IX, 479-483.
 Dame Quickly's account of Falstaff's death is shown to accord in detail with Renaissance (and classical) medical descriptions of the last stages of a plague victim.
647. Merchant, W. M. "Francis Hayman's Illustrations of Shakespeare", *SQ*, IX, 141-147.
 Discussion of illustrations for the Thomas Hamner *Shakespear* (1744), some of which follow designs suggested by Garrick. Eight full-page plates.
648. Merchant, W. M. *Shakespeare and the Artist: Artist, Illustrator and Designer as Interpreters of the Text*.
 104 line illustrations in text and 64 pages half-tone plates. A survey of three centuries.
649. Meyen, Fritz. *Johann Joachim Eschenburg, 1743-1820*. Braunschweig, 1957. Pp. 130.
 On translating *Shak.*, pp. 35-49.
650. Mikkelsen, Robert S. "To Catch a Saint: Angelo in *Measure for Measure*", *Western Humanities Review*, XIII, 261-275.
 Angelo's treatment at the end of the play is thematically and dramatically appropriate.
651. Millet, Stanton. "The Structure of *Measure for Measure*", *Boston University Studies in English*, II (1956), 207-217.
652. *La Mise en Scène des Oeuvres du Passé*, ed. by Jean Jacquot and André Veinstein. Illus. Paris: Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, 1957.
 Includes a paper by Jean Jacquot on the light thrown on *Macb.* by Holinshed and other contemporaries, and its importance for the *Shak.* producer. Includes a paper by Gabriel Monnet describing his production of *Ham.* in the open air at Annecy.
 Rev. by Thomas C. C. Milne in *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 104-105.
653. Mitchell, John D. and Miriam. "The Theatre in Russia", *Today's Speech*, Ap.
 On the high standards required in preparing Russian actors for *Shak.* productions.
654. Mithal, H. S. D. "Will, My Lord of Leicester's Jesting Player", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 427-429.
 The "Will, my Lord of Leicester's jesting player" mentioned in a letter of Sir Philip Sidney to Sir Francis Walsingham is probably Robert Wilson, a former player in Leicester's company, although *Shak.* is yet a possibility.
655. Mohrhenn, Alfred. *Lebendige Dichtung*. Heidelberg, 1956.
 "Hamlet und die Verzweiflung", pp. 66-93.
656. Morris, B. R. "Thomas Watson and 'Troilus and Cressida'", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 244-245.
 Poem 20 in Watson's *Superius. The first Sette, of Italian Madrigalls Englished* (1590) sees Troilus as the center of interest in the love tragedy. This may suggest a new interpretation of *Shak.*'s play.
657. Morris, Harry Caesar. "Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Criticism of Shakespeare's Problem Comedies", *DA*, XVII (1957), 1546-1547.
658. Morris, Harry. "Ophelia's 'Bonny Sweet Robin'", *PMLA*, LXXIII, 601-603.
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659. Morris, Helen. *Elizabethan Literature* (Home Univ. Library). Oxford Univ. Press. Pp. ix + 239.
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660. Muir, Kenneth. "*Cardenio*", *Etudes Anglaises*, XI, 202-209.
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- lier play, *Cardenio*, believed by Theobald to be by Fletcher and *Shak*.
661. Muir, Kenneth. "A Mexican Marina", *ES*, XXXIX, 74-75.
Per. perhaps indicates that Shakespeare knew the story of Cortés' Mexican mistress and interpreter.
662. Muir, Kenneth. "Shakespeare's Hand in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*", *SS* 11, pp. 50-59.
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663. Muir, Kenneth. *Shakespeare's Sources*. I. Comedies and Tragedies. London, 1957.
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664. Muir, Kenneth. "The Speaking of Shakespeare", in *English Speech: Volume 4* (1957 Year Book of the English Speaking Board). London: English Speaking Board.
665. Muir, Kenneth. "An Unfinished Prompt-Book", *SQ*, IX, 420-422.
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666. Muir, Kenneth. "'Wits Fittes' and Shakespeare", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 186-187.
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667. Müller, Dagobert. "Über die Schilderung einer Vergiftung in Shakespeares Hamlet", *Wiss. Zeitschr. d. Humboldt-Univ. zu Berlin. Ges.- u. sprachwiss. Reihe*, VI (1956/57), 75-86.
668. Murdoch, Walter. *Selected Essays*. London: Angus, 1957. Includes "Hamlet Revisited".
669. Musgrove, S. *Shakespeare and Jonson* (Bulletin no. 51, English Series no. 9). Auckland, N. Z.: Auckland Univ. College, 1957. Pp. 55. Paperbound.
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670. Myers, Henry Alonzo. *Tragedy: A View of Life*. Cornell Univ. Press, 1956.
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671. Nagler, A. M. *Shakespeare's Stage*, tr. by Ralph Manheim (Yale Univ. Shakespeare Supplements). Yale Univ. Press. Pp. ix + 117.
 A study of *Shak*. as a man of business in the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre.
672. Nash, Walter. "Paired Words in *Othello*: Shakespeare's Use of a Stylistic Device", *ES*, XXXIX, 62-67.
 "The flinty and steel couch of war" is a locution as typical of *Othello* as repetition of a word is of *Hamlet*. Iago's occasional use of paired words is that of a man aping the master. (Comment by Johan Gerritsen, no. 448, and reply by Nash, no. 673.)
673. Nash, Walter. "Postscript", *ES*, XXXIX, 214-216.
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674. Neilson, Francis. *Shakespeare and The Tempest*. Rindge, New Hampshire, 1956.
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675. Neilson, Francis. "Shakespeare and *The Tempest*", *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, XVII, 321-327, 421-431.
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676. Nelson, Robert J. *Play Within a Play: The Dramatist's Conception of His Art*, Shakespeare to Anouilh (Yale Romanic Studies, 2nd Series, Vol.

- V). Yale Univ. Press. Pp. xiii + 182.
Examines the play within a play as an index to playwright's conception of theatre.
677. Newton, Robert G. "Othello in Madras", *The British Drama League* (issued as an insert in *Drama*, Spring), p. 7.
Production of *Oth.* directed by Newton by the Madras Dramatic Society using Tamil actors.
678. Nicoll, Allardyce. "Shakespeare and the Court Masque", *SJ*, XCIV, 51-62.
Questions the view that Jacobean court masques influenced *Shak.*'s late plays, "except in so far as they made impress on the poet's inner eye and the secret recesses of his mind". Accordingly, the late plays should be staged simply.
- 678a. Nielsen, Johs. "Shakespeare For Alle Og. I. Alle Lande", *Sorö Amtstidende*, Oct. 4.
679. Norman, Arthur M. Z. "Daniel's *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* and *Antony and Cleopatra*", *SQ*, IX, 11-18.
Act-by-act study of linking evidence. Mainly, *Shak.* got from Daniel the notion of Cleopatra as "the embodiment of a love transcending wordly obligations"; and, thereby induced to give her tragedy an act to itself, found himself with two dramatic climaxes.
680. Nosworthy, J. M. "Music and Its Function in the Romances of Shakespeare", *SS* 11, pp. 60-69.
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681. *Notes*. Including Scene by Scene Synopsis—Character Sketches, Selected Examination Questions and Answers. Lincoln, Nebraska: Cliff's Notes and Outlines.
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682. O'Brien, Gordon Worth. *Renaissance Poetics and the Problem of Power*. Chicago, 1956.
Rev. briefly by M. C. Bradbrook in *RES*, n.s., IX, 234; in *VQR*, XXXIV, no. 1, xvii; by Lillian Feder in *Seventeenth Century News*, XVI, 4.
683. Ochlopkov, N. "Iz režisserskoj eksplicacii Gamleta", *Teatr* (Moscow), XVI. i (1955), 60-73.
684. "Old Vic Over Here", *Newsweek*, Sep. 29, pp. 92-93. American tour of the Old Vic Company.
685. Oliver, H. J. *The Problem of John Ford*. Melbourne Univ. Press, 1955.
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686. Oman, Carola. *David Garrick*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 448. With 8 pp. gravure illustrations.
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- 686a. Oppel, Horst. *Shakespeares Tragödien und Romanzen: Kontinuität oder Umbruch?* Weisbaden, 1954.
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688. Ormis, Ján V. "Ďalšie údaje o Michalovi Bosom, našom prvom prekladateľovi Shakespeara", *Slovenské divadlo* (Bratislava), VI, 431-434.
New findings about the first Slovak translator of *Shak.*, Michal Bosý—pseudonym: Bohuslav Křizák (d. 1847).
689. Ormis, Ján V. "Do tretice Michal Bosý", *Slovenské divadlo* (Bratislava), VI, 549-550.
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690. Ornstein, Robert. "The Human Comedy: *Measure for Measure*", *Univer-*

- city of *Kansas City Review*, XXIV (1957), 15-22.
691. Ornstein, Robert. "Seneca and the Political Drama of *Julius Caesar*", *JEGP*, LVII, 51-56.
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693. Overmyer, Grace. *America's First Hamlet*. New York, 1957.
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698. Pasternak, Boris. "Comment j'ai traduit Shakespeare en russe", *Lettres Françaises*, no. 647 (1956).
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700. Pasternak, Boris. "Hamlet", in *Poesie*. Introduzione, traduzione e note di Angelo Maria Ripellino. Florence: Einaudi.
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701. Pasternak, Boris. "Notes on the Translation of Shakespeare's Tragedies", in *Literaturnaya Moskva*. Moscow, 1956.
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703. Pasternak, Boris. "Translating Shakespeare", *Twentieth Century*, CLXIV, 213-228.
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- 703a. Pearce, Thomas W. "Wit and Wisdom in Mr. Heilman's Othello", *SNL*, VIII, 42.
Wit should not be equated with wisdom, nor witchcraft with love.
704. Peck, S. "Three Stratfords of W. Shakespeare", *New York Times Magazine*, Jul. 13, pp. 24-25.
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705. Pellegrini, Giuliano. "The Roman Plays of Shakespeare in Italy", *Italica*, XXXIV (1957), 228-233.
706. Pendleton, Ralph (ed.). *The Theatre of Robert Edmond Jones*. Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1957. Pp. [xiii] + 196. 51 plates.
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707. Penlington, Norman. "The Terrible Sickness in Shakespeare's *Othello*", *Motive*, Jan., n.p.

- The sickness is meaninglessness, and the leading male characters try to avoid confronting their empty selves by the futile device of playing roles.
708. Perkin, Robert L. "Shakespeare in The Rockies: A Happy Beginning", *SQ*, IX, 555-559.
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709. Perlström, Åke. "Henry VIII på Old Vic", *Göteborgs-Posten* (Göteborg), Aug. 27.
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711. Phialas, Peter G. "Coleville of the Dale", *SQ*, IX, 86-88.
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712. Phialas, Peter G. "Renaissance Conference", *South Atlantic Bulletin*, XXIV, 9-11.
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713. Plunkett, P. M. "Shakespeare in Ontario", *America*, Oct. 11, pp. 44-45.
Stratford, Ontario, *Shak.* Festival.
714. Pohl, Frederick J. "Where Shakespeare Saw Mountains", *SNL*, VIII, 37.
Judging from allusions in *Sonn.* and plays, *Shak.* saw mountains only from a distance and always from the east (looking westward). Biographical evidence, still speculative, suggests that it was from Hoghton Tower in Lancashire that he saw the peaks of the Lake Country and of the far-off Welsh mountains.
- 714a. Pohl, Frederick J. "On the Identity of 'Mr. W. H.'", *SNL*, VIII, 43.
Proposes William Houghton (1571-1642).
715. Pokorný, Jaroslav. *Shakespeareova doba a divadlo* (*Shak.'s Time and Theatre*). Praha: Orbis. Pp. 172.
Second enlarged ed. (1st was 1955) of a popular manual for actors and producers; with many illustrations and a chronological survey of *Shak.* in relation to events of his time.
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717. Pollock, John. *Curtain Up*. London: Peter Davies. Pp. 200.
This study of the theatre, "the outcome of notes made in the course of sixty-odd years" by one who has worked on both sides of the footlights, includes memories of Sir Henry Irving.
Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Nov. 7, p. 647.
718. Potts, Abbie Findlay. *Shakespeare and The Faerie Queene*. Cornell Univ. Press. Pp. xii + 269.
719. Powell, Woodrow W. "A Critical Edition of Thomas Heywood's *A Challenge for Beauty*, with Introduction and Notes", *DA*, XIX, 525-526.
Includes parallels between the main plot of *A Challenge for Beauty* and *Cym.*
720. Praz, Mario. "Shakespeare's Italy", in *The Flaming Heart*. Essays on Crashaw, Machiavelli, and Other Studies in the Relations between Italian and English Literature from Chaucer to T. S. Eliot (Doubleday Anchor Books). Garden City: Doubleday & Company, pp. 146-167.
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721. Prema, S. "Producing Shakespeare in India", *SQ*, IX, 395-396.
Elizabethan conditions of staging are especially troublesome for India, where articulation has to be clear. Most of article describes a production of scenes from *Caesar* at Andhra Univ.
722. Price, Hereward T. "Shakespeare's Classical Scholarship", *RES*, n.s., IX, 54-55.
Accepts the contention that *Shak.'s* signature, in the Folger copy of W. Lambarde's *Archaeionomia* (1564), is

- genuine, deducing that *Shak.*'s Latin was not "small" and that he had wide intellectual interests.
723. Purcell, J. M. "*A&C*, I, 1, 42-43", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 187-188.
- The meaning of Cleopatra's "I'll seem the fool I am not, Antony will be himself" is illuminated by three proverbs of *Shak.*'s day. These are: "Wise men silent, fools talk"; "Silence is the best ornament of a woman"; "He is not a wise man who cannot play the fool on occasion".
724. Purcell, J. M. "*Comedy of Errors*, II, ii, 57", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 180.
- A proverbial basis may "lend point" to the line.
725. Purcell, J. M. "*Twelfth Night*, II, ii, 27-28", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 375-376.
- A 16th-century proverb, "His nose will abide no jests", may provide a clue to the meaning of Feste's "Malvolio's nose is no whipstock".
726. Rattray, R. F. "Cruelty to Animals", *Quarterly Review*, CCXCVI, 257-267.
- Includes several quotations from *Shak.* to demonstrate that he was ahead of his time in his kindness toward animals.
727. Rebora, Piero. *Shakespeare: la vita, l'opera, il messaggio* (Biblioteca Moderna Mondadori, 514, 515). Milano: A. Mondadori. Pp. 347.
728. "Recording Shakespeare", *English*, XII, 103-104.
729. Redgrave, Michael. *Mask or Face*. London: Heinemann. Pp. 188.
- Lectures, articles, and notes by a contemporary *Shak.* actor on his craft.
- Rev. in *TLS*, Jul. 11, p. 395; by Norman Marshall in *London Magazine*, Oct., pp. 62-67; by John Gassner in *The Nation*, Oct. 11, pp. 215-216; by John Barton in *Spectator*, Jun. 20, p. 813.
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- Accepts thesis that Hamlet is a man of action and that he meets primarily external obstacles. The self-recrimination for delay is, then, unjustified and must be explained by the tenets of "conscience" in both Elizabethan and Freudian pathological terms.
731. *Reference Data on the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, 1956*. Fourth Annual Season of Drama, June 18—August 18, Second Annual Season of Music, July 7—August 11. Stratford: Ontario Shakespearean Festival Foundation, 1956. Pp. 10.
732. Reynolds, William J. "When Thou Doest *Macbeth*, Do it Quickly!", *English Journal*, XLVII, 90-91.
- Suggests extensive preparation for class study of *Macb.* through essays such as Shaw's "Better than Shakespeare" and "Valedictory", Thurber's "The Macbeth Murder Mystery", and De Quincey's "On the Knocking at the Gate in *Macbeth*", followed by rapid reading and discussion in class.
733. Ribner, Irving. *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare*. Princeton Univ. Press, 1957.
- Rev. by Arthur B. Ferguson in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LVII, 146-148; briefly by Robert C. Roby in *CE*, XX, 59-60; by Kenneth Muir in *MLR*, LIII, 561-562; by Robert B. Miller in *Seventeenth Century News*, XVI, 3.
734. Ribner, Irving. "The Gods Are Just: A Reading of *King Lear*", *The Tulane Drama Review*, II, 34-54.
- "In its totality *King Lear* asserts the perfection of God's harmonious order and the inevitable triumph of justice, with the forces of evil preying upon and destroying themselves".
735. Richards, Stanley. "On and Off Broadway", *Players Magazine*, Oct., pp. 19-20.
- Stratford, Ontario *Shak.* festival. Discusses productions of *Wint.*, *1 H. IV*, and *Much*.
736. Roberts, Peter. "*Hamlet*", *Plays and Players*, Jul., p. 14.
- Stratford-on-Avon production.
737. Roberts, Peter. "*King Lear*", *Plays and Players*, Ap., p. 25.
- Douglas Seale's Old Vic production.
738. Roberts, Peter. "Midsummer Night's Dream", *Plays and Players*, Feb., p. 15.
- Old Vic production.

739. Roberts, Peter. "Twelfth Night", *Plays and Players*, May, p. 17.
Michael Benthal's Old Vic production.
740. Robinson, A. M. Lewin. "The Grey Copy of the Shakespeare First Folio", *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, V (1950), 11-16.
This copy presented, as part of a collection, by Sir George Grey in 1863 to the South African Library. It is Lee CXLIX.
741. Robinson, Robert. *The Phonetic Writings of Robert Robinson*, ed. by E. J. Dobson. Oxford Univ. Press (EETS No. 238), 1957. Pp. xxi + 95.
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742. Roppolo, Joseph Patrick. "American Premieres of Two Shakespearean Plays in New Orleans", *Tulane Studies in English*, VII (1957), 125-132.
Describes productions of *T.G.V.* in 1831 and *Antony* in 1838 in New Orleans. Credit for the American premieres of these plays has erroneously been given to New York heretofore.
743. Rosati, Salvatore. *Il giro della ruota*. Saggio su "King Lear" di Shakespeare. Firenze: Le Monnier. Pp. 249.
744. Rosenberg, Eleanor. *Leicester: Patron of Letters*. Columbia Univ. Press, 1955.
Rev. briefly by I. Willis Russell in *SQ*, IX, 77-78.
745. Rosenberg, Marvin. "On the Dating of Othello", *ES*, XXXIX, 72-74.
In light of a Jonson note on the making of "the performers blackmoors" at the express desire of Queen Anne, suggests that *Shak.* may have written *Oth.* for her for performance in the Winter season of 1604.
746. Rosenberg, Marvin. "Othello to the Life", *Theatre Arts*, Jun., pp. 58-61.
Events in Edwin Forrest's life parallel the Othello story. The intensity of Forrest's interpretation may be attributed to these events.
747. Rosenberg, Marvin. "Reputation, Oft Lost Without Deserving . . .", *SQ*, IX, 499-506.
- A defense of the practicality and artistic integrity of Thomas Bowdler, especially in view of the mutilated "refinements" of *Shak.* that held the stage at the time.
748. Rosier, James Louis. "The Chain of Sin and Privation in Elizabethan Literature", *DA*, XVIII, 583.
Traces the emergence and development of the ideas of the chain of sin and privation in the theology and literature of Elizabethan England. *Shak.*'s interest in the problems of evil considered in two early plays, *Titus* and *R. III.*
749. Ross, Lawrence J. "Two Supposed Defects in Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 462-463.
750. Rossmann, Hermann. "Shakespeare, eine Welt und ihr Schöpfer", *Prisma* (Bochum) 1956/57, no. 7, pp. 82-84. (Also in *Shakespeare-Tage* 1957, pp. 1-3.)
751. Rousselot, Jean. "Shakespeare poète ou le théâtre intérieur", *Cahiers de la Compagnie Madeleine Renaud-Jean Louis Barrault* (Paris), no. 17 (1957).
- 751a. Rubow, Paul V. "Om Shakespere Oversættelser—Endnu Engang", *Berlingske Aften* (Copenhagen), Nov. 12.
Surveys *Shak.*'s Danish translators of the past two centuries.
752. Rudnitsky, Konstantin. "Moscow's Mammoth Festival", *Plays and Players*, Sep., pp. 16-17.
Lear at Mossoviet Theatre.
753. Russell, Douglas A. "Shakespearean Costume: Contemporary or Fancy Dress", *Educational Theatre Journal*, X, 105-112.
Emphasizes the importance of the visual elements complementing the author's intent. Attempts to find a medium between lavish 19th-century costuming and sparse modern costuming.
754. Ryan, Pat M., Jr. "Appian's *Civil Wars* Yet Again As Source for Antony's Oration", *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIV, 72-73.
Shak. may have got hints for Antony's rhetorical techniques outside the oration episode—in the account

of Antony's fund-raising appeal to the Grecians.

755. Ryerson, Edward. "Julius Caesar Once Again", *English Journal*, XLVII, 1-7. Suggestions to high school teachers for teaching *Caesar*.
756. Salingar, L. G. "The Design of *Twelfth Night*", *SQ*, IX, 117-139.

It is a complex design, as shown by comparison with sources, involving greater significance given to the usual love story, the use of techniques earlier mastered in *Errors*, and the underlying "constructive principles" associated with a time of misrule.
757. Samarin, R. "On the Problem of Realism in West European Literature of the Renaissance Period", *Voprosi Literaturi* (Moscow), Aug., 1957, pp. 40-62.

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758. Schaar, Claes. "Shakespeare's Sonnets L-LI and Tebaldeo's Sonnet CVII", *ES*, XXXVIII (1957), 208-209.
759. Schadewaldt, Wolfgang. "Hamlet und sein Leid", *Das neue Forum*, VI (1956/57), 81-84.
760. Schäfer, Dorothea. "Die Bedeutung des Rollenspiels in Shakespeares 'Wie es Euch Gefällt'", *SJ*, XCIV, 151-174.
761. Schaller, Rudolf. "Shakespeare in deutscher Sprache. Einige Probleme bei der Arbeit des Übersetzers", *Theater der Zeit. Blätter für Bühne, Film und Musik* (Berlin), no. 11 (1955), pp. 30-37.
762. Schaller, Rudolf. "Shakespeare-Tagung in Bochum", *Theater d. Zeit*, XI (1956), 12-16.
763. Schanzer, Ernest (ed.). *Shakespeare's Appian*. Liverpool Univ. Press, 1956.

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764. Schevill, James. "Towards a Rhythm of Comic Action", *Western Speech*, XX (1956), 5-14.
- Concerns Falstaff and Tartuffe.
765. Schirmer, W. F. "Shakespeares klassizistische Gegenspieler", *Anglia*, LXXVI, 90-116.
766. Schlichte, Franz. *Die Zustände leidenschaftlichen Ausser-sich-Seins im Werk William Shakespeares*. Tübingen, Phil. Diss., 1957.
767. Schlüter, Kurt. *Shakespeares dramatische Erzählkunst* (Schriftenreihe der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, N.F. Bd. 7). Heidelberg. Pp. 159.
768. Schmidt di Simoni, Karen. *Shakespeares Troilus und Cressida, eine sprachlich-stilistische Untersuchung*. Diss. Freiburg i.B., 1957.
769. Schmidtbonn, Wilhelm. *Das festliche Haus*. Köln, 1955.

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- 769a. Schoeck, R. J. "The Death of Falstaff: Greenfields once more", *Drama Critique*, 1, 27ff.
770. Schöffler, Herbert. *Di. Geist im 18. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen, 1956.

"Shakespeare und der junge Goethe", pp. 113-134. Previously in *SJ*, LXXVI (1940), 11-33.
771. Schomerus, Hans. *Shakespeare*. Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag. Pp. 59.

An essay.
772. Schrickx, W. *Shakespeare's Early Contemporaries*. The Background of the Harvey-Nashe Polemic and *Love's Labour's Lost*. Antwerp, 1956.

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773. Schulz, Max F. "King Lear: A Box-Office Maverick Among Shakespearean Tragedies on the London Stage, 1700-1 to 1749-50", *Tulane Studies in English*, VII (1957), 83-90.

A difficult play to perform, *Lear* achieved popular theatrical status only twice in the first half of the 18th century. Each time, this coincided with the appearance of a new actor—Anthony Boheme in the 1720's, and Garrick in the 1740's.
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- Rev. by Adrien Bonjour in *Deutsches Literaturzeitung*, LXXIX, 127-128.
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779. Sen, Sailendra Kumar. "What Happens in *Coriolanus*", *SO*, IX, 331-345.
Contrary to usual views, Coriolanus has an intense inner conflict; but it is fitful, being turned on and quickly off three times. His tragic struggle has the "broad and elementary" qualities of Greek tragedy rather than the complexities found in *Shak.*'s major heroes.
780. Seng, Peter J. "The Earliest Known Music for Desdemona's 'Willow Song'", *SO*, IX, 419-420.
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781. Seng, Peter J. "An Early Tune for the Fool's Song in *King Lear*", *SO*, IX, 583-585.
In *Pammelia, Musicks Miscellanie* (1609, STC 20759) occur two staves of MS music that may preserve the original tune of the Fool's song, I. iv. 191-194.
782. Seng, Peter J. "An Epitaph for Hyder E. Rollins", *SNL*, VIII, 27.
783. Seng, Peter J. "Music in Shakespeare", *Encounter*, X, 67-68.
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784. Seng, Peter J. "The Riddle Song in 'Merchant of Venice'", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 191-193.
Favors John Robert Moore's theory that "Bassanio's choice of the leaden casket is directed by the song of Fancy". Adduces Fox-Strangways' assertion that the tenor of the song is made obvious by the rhymes "bred, head, nourished" and "fed", and with the refrain "Reply, reply", which may mean "find a rhyme to these".
785. Seronsy, Cecil C. "Shakespeare's *King Lear*, I, i, 159-163", *The Explicator*, XVII, no. 21.
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786. Shackford, Martha Hale. *Shakespeare, Sophocles: Dramatic Modes*. Natick, Mass., 1957.
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787. "Shakespeare in a Straw Hat", *Economist*, Aug. 24 (1957), pp. 617, 619.
American summer theatre season.
788. *Shakespeare, the Swan of Avon*. Scenes from his life and the Elizabethan stage, ed. by Martin S. Allwood and Michael Taylor. Stockholm, 1957.
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789. *The Shakespeare Country* (Slidebooks, Beautiful Britain Series). London: Educational Publications in Collaboration with British Travel and Holidays Association, 1957. Pp. 24.
790. "Shakespeare Lectures at the Oregon Festival", *SNL*, VIII, 28-29.
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- Spelling" and abstracts of the six Gresham Lectures: Arthur Kreisman, "The Jews of Marlowe and Shakespeare"; James Sandoe, William Nye, and Nagle Jackson, "Conversation on Comedy"; Margery Bailey, "Shakespeare's Doubled Heroes"; Edmund Chaves, "A History of the Ashland Festival in Colored Slides"; Myna Brunton Hughes, "Shakespeare in South America"; George Vernon Blue, "Makers of the Tudor Myth".
791. *Shakespeare-Tage 1957*. Hrsg. v.d. Dt. Shakespeare-Gesellschaft u. dem Schauspielhaus Bochum. Bochum, 1957. Pp. 20.
792. "Shakespeare Theatre Opened in Stratford", *Architectural Record*, Sep. (1957), p. 42.
793. "Shakespeare up-to-Date: The Balcony Scene from *Romeo and Juliet* Act II Scene II", *Mad*, May, p. 17.
Gives "Old Version" and "Mad Version".
794. "Shakespeareans of Stratford", *Theatre Arts*, Jul., pp. 60-61.
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795. "Shakespeare Verse Traced to Source", *New York Times*, Nov. 18, p. 35M.
Reports discovery, by James M. Osborn, of Elizabethan ballad quoted by Benedick (*Much*) as "The god of love,/ That sits above. . . ." The poem is attributed to William Elderton.
796. Shapiro, I. A. "*Richard II* or *Richard III* or . . . ?", *SQ*, IX, 204-206.
Sir Edward Hoby's reference to "K. Richard" in letter of 1595, usually adduced to date *R. II*, would more likely refer to *R. III*—or even more likely to no play at all.
797. Shaw, Dennis. "Esther Leach, 'The Mrs. Siddons of Bengal'", *Educational Theatre Journal*, X, 304-310.
Notes on Esther Leach's career in Calcutta, including discussion of *Shak.* performances.
798. Shaw, G. Bernard. *Shaw on Theatre*, ed. by E. J. West. New York: Hill and Wang. Pp. xi + 306.
Includes: "I Am A Classic But Am I A Shakespeare Thief?", "On John Barrymore's *Hamlet*", "On Cutting Shakespeare", "Shakespeare and the Stratford-on-Avon Theatre". Four other sections contain *Shak.* criticism.
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799. Shaw, John. "The Minor Plot and *Henry V*", *SNL*, VIII, 2.
Abstract of paper delivered before the Northeast Ohio English Group.
800. Sherbo, Arthur. "Correspondence", *SQ*, IX, 433.
A brief vindication, against the strictures of Arthur Eastman (1957 *Bibl.*, no. 302), of his position that Dr. Johnson borrowed widely, and without full acknowledgement, from other critics in his edition of *Shak.*
801. Sherbo, Arthur. *Samuel Johnson, Editor of Shakespeare, with an Essay on The Adventurer*. Univ. of Illinois Press, 1956.
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802. Sherbo, Arthur. "Sanguine Expectations: Dr. Johnson's *Shakespeare*", *SQ*, IX, 426-428.
Explanation of why Johnson, in *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth*, had seen his way to promise completion of the edition in 18 months: he had been working on notes as early as 1745.
803. Shield, H. A. "Links With Shakespeare", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 526-527.
Shak. genealogy.
804. Shroeder, John W. *The Great Folio of 1623*. Hamden, Connecticut, 1956.
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805. Shroeder, John W. "*The Taming of a Shrew* and *The Taming of the Shrew*: A Case Reopened", *JEGP*, LVII, 424-443.
Questions the bases for currently prevailing views.
806. Shuttleworth, Bertram. "W. J. Lawrence: A Hand-list, XIV", *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 65-67.
See 1957 *Bibl.*, no. 779 for previous sections.
807. Siegel, Paul N. "Correspondence", *SQ*, IX, 433-435.
Defense of his article "The Dam-

- nation of Othello" (1953 Bibl., no. 300) against the strictures of Edward Hubler (see no. 531).
808. Siegel, Paul N. "Foreshadowings of Cleopatra's Death", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 386-387.
Cites several passages to show that from the beginning of the play the Elizabethan audience was constantly reminded of Cleopatra's impending death—for them, the most important part of the play.
809. Siegel, Paul N. *Shakespearean Tragedy and the Elizabethan Compromise*. New York Univ. Press, 1957.
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810. Sisson, C. J. "The Magic of Prospero", *SS* 11, pp. 70-77.
Shak.'s depiction of Prospero ran the hazard of suggesting parallels with contemporary magicians and the resulting criminal prosecution. But *Shak.* was generally careful to represent Prospero's magic as the "white" or innocent type.
811. Sjöberg, Alf and Vilgot Sjöman. "Plats för stumt spell", *Vi* (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr), 45: nr. 45.
The meaning of "dumb acting", with an analysis of Sjöberg's staging of *Meas*.
812. Sjögren, Gunnar. *Var Othello neger och andra Shakespeareproblem*. Stockholm: Natur och kultur. Pp. 196.
Besides the title essay (Was Othello black or a "tawny Moor?"), this collection of studies includes "Urpremiär på Trettondagsafton" (The first night of *Twelfth Night*), "Shakespeare och Italien" (*Shak.* and Italy), "Hamlets Alder" (How old was Hamlet?), and several others.
813. Slack, Robert C. "Measure for Measure", in Carnegie Institute of Technology, Department of English, *Shakespeare: Lectures on Five Plays*, pp. 19-35.
814. Slack, R. C. "Shakespeare's Measure for Measure", *Carnegie Magazine*, Mar., pp. 86-89.
815. Smirnov, A. A. "Problemy tekstologii Šekspira", *Izvestija* (Moscow), XV, ii (1956), 122-132.
816. Smith, Constance I. "A Further Note on 'A. & C.' I, i, 42-43", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 371.
A comment on J. M. Purcell's note on this passage (see 1958 Bibl., no. 723). Purcell misses the functional character of the last four words in conjunction with Antony's "But stirr'd by Cleopatra".
817. Smith, Gordon Ross. "Good and Evil in Shakespearean Tragedy", Pennsylvania State Univ. Diss., 1956, abstracted by Jack R. Brown in *SNL*, VIII, 36.
818. Smith, Gordon Ross. "A Note on Shakespeare's Sonnet 143", *American Imago*, XIV (1957), 33-36.
Sonn. 143 is intelligible as an artistic expression of the relationship of the Oedipus complex to mature heterosexual love.
819. Smith, Irwin. "Ariel as Ceres", *SQ*, IX, 430-432.
Much stage business and repetitious dialogue may have been added primarily to permit the actor playing Ariel and Ceres to change costume.
820. Smith, Irwin. *Shakespeare's Globe Playhouse*. New York, 1956.
Rev. by C. Walter Hodges in *SQ*, IX, 194-197; by John Russell Brown in *MLN*, LXXIII, 364-367.
821. Smith, John Harrington, Lois D. Pizer, and Edward K. Kaufman. "Hamlet, Antonio's Revenge, and the Ur-Hamlet", *SQ*, IX, 493-498.
Ham. and the similar revenge play by Marston were probably written independently of each other, with indebtedness only to the *Ur-Hamlet*. So understood, they provide valuable clues to the nature of the lost play by echoes which they share. And since Marston's play ends happily, it

is possible that the *Ur-Hamlet* did not conclude with the hero's death.

822. Smith, Philip A. "Othello's Diction", *SQ*, IX, 428-430.

Othello's language is formal, unidiomatic, uncolloquial, deliberately fashioned to sound foreign.

823. Smith, Warren D. "The Elizabethan Rejection of Judicial Astrology and Shakespeare's Practice", *SQ*, IX, 159-176.

Shak.'s practice was in accord with that of large numbers of enlightened, influential Elizabethans, who were skeptical of what we would now call astrology.

824. Sochatoff, A. Fred. "Much Ado about Nothing", in Carnegie Institute of Technology, Department of English, *Shakespeare: Lectures on Five Plays*, pp. 3-17.

825. Soellner, Rolf. "The Four Primary Passions: A Renaissance Theory Reflected in the Works of Shakespeare", *SP*, LV, 549-567.

The Renaissance division into joy, grief, hope, and fear pervades *Shak.*

826. Soellner, Rolf. "The Madness of Hercules", *Comparative Literature*, X, 309-324.

"For scenes of passion, boundless anger, or grief, the Elizabethans had a classical model in the *Hercules furens* of Seneca". The traces are elusive in *Shak.*, but may be found in *Ham.*, *Oth.*, and possibly *Caesar*.

827. Sonderegger, Erwin. *Die Fügung von 'to be' mit dem Partizipium des Präsens bei Shakespeare im Vergleich zum heutigen Gebrauch*. Innsbruck, Phil. Diss., 1954.

828. Speaight, Robert. "Politics at Stratford", *New Statesman and Nation*, LIII (1957), 734-735.

On *Caesar*.

829. Speaight, Robert. "Shakespeare's Religion: The Enquiries of the Countess of Chambrun", *Tablet*, Dec. 14 (1957).

830. Speaight, Robert. "The Stratford Festival, I. Comedy; II. Tragedy", *Tablet*, Sep. 13, 20.

831. Spencer, Benjamin T. "Antony and

Cleopatra and the Paradoxical Metaphor", *SQ*, IX, 373-378.

This type of metaphor, found in Philo's opening speech and given repeated verbal prominence, involves bafflement and surprise, contradiction, and the "unexpected reality beneath appearance".

832. Spender, Stephen. "Speaking of Shakespeare", *Encounter*, Oct.

Review of the *Shak.* plays recorded by the Marlowe Society, Argo Record Company.

833. Spevack, Marvin. "Shakespeare's *King Lear*, IV, iv, 152", *Explicator*, XVII, no. 4.

The use of "feelingly" in the sense of "with just perception, understandingly" completes the dramatic irony of Gloucester's earlier statement, "I stumbled when I saw".

834. Spivack, Bernard. *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil*. Columbia Univ. Press. Pp. ix + 508.

Concerned mainly with the origins of Iago and late medieval dramatic tradition. Six chapters are devoted to an exploration of the Vice's changing roles in Tudor drama.

Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 5, p. 702; in *Seventeenth-Century News*, XVI, 40; briefly in *SNL*, VIII, 30; by Harry Levin in *RN*, XI, 279-281.

835. Spurgeon, Caroline. *Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells Us* (Paper). Boston: Beacon Press. Pp. 408.

836. Stafford, William T. "James Examines Shakespeare: Notes on the Nature of Genius", *PMLA*, LXXIII, 123-128.

Reviews of *Shak.* performances, introduction to an edition (*Temp.*), and, especially, a short story "The Birthplace" are indications of James's interest in defining *Shak.*'s creative talent.

837. *Stage Design Throughout the World since 1935*, presented by René Hainaux and Yves-Bonnat, foreword by Jean Cocteau, preface by Kenneth Rae. London, 1957.

Rev. by L. L. Zimmerman in *Play-ers Magazine*, XXXIV, 142-143.

838. Stamm, Rudolf. "Edmund Kean", *Shakespeare-Tage 1957* (Bochum), pp. 10-16.

839. Stamm, Rudolph. *Englische Literatur. Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte* (Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, Bd. 11). Bern: Francke, 1957.
Shak. on pp. 90-133.
 Rev. by Hermann Heuer, in *SJ*, XCIV, 257-258.
840. Stamm, Rudolf. "George Bernard Shaw and Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*", in *Studies in Honor of T. W. Baldwin*, ed. by Don Cameron Allen, pp. 254-266.
841. Stamm, Rudolf. "Shakespeare und Hans Rothe", *Der Bund* (Bern), Dec. 1.
 Virulent attack on Rothe's *Shak.* translations, successful only because their mediocrity and simplifications bring *Shak.* down to the level of the most stupid spectator.
842. Stamm, Rudolf. "Shaw und Shakespeare", *SJ*, XCIV, 9-28.
 Shaw's understanding of *Shak.* resulted from characteristics common to both, especially the *Lebensenergie* of genius.
843. Starnes, De Witt T. and E. W. Talbert. *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1955.
 Rev. by R. R. Bolgar in *RES*, n.s., IX, 63-65.
844. Stephens, Frances (compiler). *Theatre World Annual*. Number 8: 1st June, 1956—31st May, 1957. London: Rockliff. Pp. 176.
 Pictorial record of one year's work in the London theatre.
 Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Feb. 21, p. 107; in *Drama*, Spring, p. 44.
845. Stephens, Frances (compiler). *Theatre World Annual*. Number 9: 1st June, 1957—31st May, 1958. London: Rockliff. Pp. 176.
 West End plays in chronological order of their production.
 Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Nov. 7, p. 647.
846. Sternfeld, Frederick William. "The Dramatic and Allegorical Function of Music in Shakespeare's Tragedies", *Annales musicologiques*, III (1955), 265-282.
847. Sternfeld, Frederick W. "Lasso's Music for Shakespeare's 'Sammingo'", *SQ*, IX, 105-116.
 Describes editions of Orlando di Lasso's chanson, "Un jour vis un foulon", which found its way into 2 *H. IV* as "Sammingo"; with a reproduction of the treble part and the five most important known texts.
848. Sternfeld, Frederick W. "Le Symbolisme Musical dans Quelques Pièces de Shakespeare Présentées à la Cour d'Angleterre", *Fêtes de la Renaissance* [527], pp. 319-333. See no. 546.
849. Stevens, John. "The Elizabethan Madrigal", in *Essays and Studies* 1958 . . . collected for the English Association by Basil Willey. London: Murray. Pp. 17-37.
850. Stevenson, Allan. "Thomas Thomas makes a Dictionary", *The Library*, XIII, 234-246.
 Reproduces and analyzes two pages of "print-plus-script" revision by Thomas, and suggests (pp. 243-244) the relevance of such evidence to *Shak.* textual bibliography.
851. Stirling, Brents. *Unity in Shakespearean Tragedy*. Columbia Univ. Press, 1956.
 Rev. by L. C. Knights in *RES*, n.s., IX, 195-196; by M. E. Prior in *MP*, LV (1957), 127-129.
852. "Stolen Books with Value of \$16,000 Found", *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 1, pp. 1, 8.
 Still unfound, according to owner John Sisto, was a 50-page MS of *Ham.* in the handwriting of *Shak.*, worth \$25,000.
853. Stratford, P. "Antigonus and the Bear", *Canadian Forum*, XXXVIII, 136-137.
 Discussion of the Stratford, Ontario, *Shak.* Festival.
854. Stratford, P. "I Like My Meat Cut in Wedges", *Canadian Forum*, XXXVIII, 107-108.
 Stratford, Ontario, *Shak.* Festival.
855. "Stratford Group Will Visit Russia", *Financial Post*, Sep. 13, p. 32.
 Announcement of proposed tour of the Stratford, Ontario, *Shak.* Festival Players.
856. Stříbný, Zdeněk. "O shakespeareovském bádání v Anglii", *Věstník Čsl. akademie věd* (Bulletin of the Czechoslo-

- vak Academy of Sciences, Praha), LXVII, 636-638.
Report on a visit to the Shakespeare Institute at Stratford-on-Avon.
857. Sříbrný, Zedněk. "První shakespeareovský festival v Olomouci", *Časopis pro moderní filologii* (Praha), XL, 234-235.
Reviews plays produced at the first *Shak.* Festival at Olomouc (Moravia): *Shrew*, R. III, *Merch.*, *Ham.*, and *Twel.*
858. Sříbrný, Zedněk. "Shakespeare a lidové tradice" (*Shak.* and the popular tradition), *Časopis pro moderní filologii* (Praha), XL, 65-79.
Presents parallels between historical plays and popular ballads; argues that ballads and other folklore should be considered as a legitimate source, especially in contexts for which no other sources have been claimed.
859. Strix. "The Tiber and the Avon", *Spectator*, 6728 (1957), pp. 746-747.
On *Caesar* at Stratford.
860. Stroud, T. A. "*Hamlet* and *The Seagull*", *SQ*, IX, 367-372.
Examines the extent of Chekhov's indebtedness—in mood, characters, and plot, with speculations about the dramatic genre intended by Chekhov in relation to *Ham.*
861. "Summer's Approach Heralds Shakespeare", *Theatre Arts*, Ap., p. 59.
Antioch (Ohio), San Diego (California), and other *Shak.* festivals.
862. Summersgill, Travis. "Structural Parallels in *Eastward Ho* and *The Tempest*", *Bucknell Review*, VI, iv, 24-28.
863. Swanston, H. F. G. "The Baroque Elements in *Troilus and Cressida*", *Durham Univ. Journal*, n.s., XIX (1957), 14-23.
864. Sylvester, William. "*Hamlet* I. ii. 133", *N&Q*, n.s., IV (1957), 223.
865. Tasker, Reuben. *A Presentation of Shakespeare* (Third Sketch). London: privately printed by the author. Pp. 16.
Verse commentary upon some of the plays.
866. "Theatre, U.S.A.", *Theatre Arts*, Aug., pp. 58-71.
Contains listings of *Shak.* festivals, productions, and performances.
867. Thespis. "School Shakespeare Productions", *English* (London), XI (1956/57), 187-188.
868. Thespis. "Theatre Notes: *The Taming of the Shrew* (Regent's Park)", *English*, XII, 105.
869. Thomas, Cleveland A. "Focus for Teaching *Hamlet*", *English Journal*, XLVII, 8-14, 40.
Suggestions for high school teachers.
870. Thomas, Mary Olive. "The Repetitions in Antony's Death Scene", *SQ*, IX, 153-157.
Favors interpolation by *Shak.* as an explanation rather than cutting by another hand. The repetitions have both rhetorical and dramatic point.
871. Thompson, Craig R. *The Bible in English 1525-1611* (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization). Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library. Pp. 37.
872. Thompson, Craig R. *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century* (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization). Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library. Pp. 57.
873. Thompson, Craig R. *Schools in Tudor England* (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization). Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library. Pp. 36 plus 12 pages of plates.
874. Thompson, Karl F. "The Feast of Pride in *Troilus and Cressida*", *N&Q*, n.s., V, 193-194.
In III. iii. 143, the Folio "feasting" is preferable to the Quarto "fasting", although both make good sense.
875. Thompson, Marvin Orville. "Uses of Music and Reflections of Current Theories of the Psychology of Music in the Plays of Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher", *DA*, XVI (1956), 2448-2449. Also Ann Arbor, Univ. Microfilms, 1956.
876. Thorp, Margaret Farrand. "Shakespeare and the Movies", *SQ*, IX, 357-366.

- Brief speculation about how *Shak.* would have written in an age of cinema is followed by criticisms of movie versions of his plays and by generalizations about how he can best be adapted to the screen.
877. Tillyard, E. M. W. *The Nature of Comedy and Shakespeare*. English Association Presidential Addresses. London: English Association. Pp. 13.
878. Tillyard, E. M. W. "Petruchio: Ribald or Pious?" *TLS*, Aug. 8, p. 447.
 Argues that there is no ambiguity in Petruchio's lines, *Shrew* III.ii. 82ff., particularly "Could I reparaire what she will weare in me". The meaning is pious, not ribald.
 See also defense of a ribald pun on *reparaire* ("re-pair") by C. Broadbent, Aug. 15, p. 459, and insistence on ribald meaning of *weare* ("wear out") by Thomas R. Mark, Oct. 31, p. 625.
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889. Trewin, J. C. "A Time For Festival", *Drama*, Summer, pp. 29-31.
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890. Trewin, J. C. "Under a Dancing Star", *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 23, p. 318.
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947. Winterich, John T. and Alan Dent. "Your Literary I.Q.: Measure for Measure", *Saturday Review*, Sep. 20, p. 34. Problem: Given twenty last lines of songs in *Shak.*'s plays; try to supply the first lines, names of the plays, and names of the singers.
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